582 TRADE. [Bethell (Slingsby)] Britannia Languens, or a Discourse of Trade: Shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength. Sm. 8vo, new speckled calf. **2 guineas** 1680

*** The author deplores excessive foreign importation, especially from France and Holland, and the laws which obstruct English trade. The authorship of the tract is not generally known, but it is here attributed to Bethell in a M.S. addition on the title-page. There is a sarcastic reference in the preface to those who attribute the decline in trade to "leaving off the old laudable custom of plentiful suppers" which may well refer to those who criticised Bethell's parsimony as Sheriff.

(Petyt, William), Britannia Languens or a discourse of trade; shewing the grounds and reasons of the increase and decay of land-rents, nation, wealth and strength, with application to the late and present state and condition of England, France and the United Provinces. Lond. 1680. 8vo. veau. A/1680 £24,—
Excessivement rare.

5 **[Petyt** (William)] Britannia Languens, or a Discourse of Trade, shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength, with Application to the Late and Present State and Condition of England, France, and the United Provinces, by "Philanglus," post 8vo., £2 10s 1680

Trade, manufacture and agriculture depressed through exportation of treasure, monopolies, excess of importation of luxuries. These are the causes which McCulloch says the Author assigns for a condition asserted to exist. But McCulloch denies that the nation was so situated, and states that industry and wealth had "rapidly increased between the Restoration and 1680." However, during that short period, as we had been at War with France, Denmark, Holland (twice), and Algiers, one would hesitate at taking McCulloch too literally. Attributed by Chalmers to Petyt.

1335 **[Petyt** (Wm.)] Britannia Languens; or, a Discourse of Trade, shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength, with Application to the late and present State and Condition of England, France and the United Provinces. 1680. *Contemp. sheepskin, nice copy, very scarce,* 8vo. £3 3s.

On Foreign Trade by Exportation; Manufactures and Fishing; Clogs upon Trade by Monopolies; The East India Co.; Foreigners eased in Trade etc. etc.

892 TRADE. [Bethell (Slingsby)] Britannia Languens, or a Discourse of Trade: shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength. Sm, 8vo, new speckled calf. **2 guineas** 4 1680

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968 PHILANGLUS. Britannia Languens, or a Discourse of Trade: shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength. Cr. 8vo., *calf neat* A 1680 1 10 0

"Probably by James Howell."—*Haslitt.*

491 **TRADE.**—Britannia Languens, or a Discourse of Trade, shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength, with applications to the late and present state and condition of England, France and the United Provinces. 1680. Small 8vo, *old binding*, £1 1s

This is a scarce and interesting volume.

8 **[Bethel** (Slingsby)] Britannia Languens, or a Discourse of Trade, shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength, with Application to the Late and Present State and Condition of England, France, &c., 8vo., half calf neat, 35s 1680

Ascribed to John Barnadiston

Macpherson, Annals of Commerce II, 548 (1
distinctly attributes this book to Polexfen

Sir Whitworth. Scarce Tracts on Trade & Commerce, (
plement to Davenant's work). This is printed
title page, as by H. T.

Lord Shelburne

Britannia Languens,

OR A

DISCOURSE

OF

TRADE:

SHEWING

The Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength.

WITH

Application to the late and present State and Condition of *England*, *France*, and the *United Provinces*.

Dum singuli pugnant universi Vincuntur, Tacitus *in Vit. Agricolæ*, speaking of the *Britains*.

London, Printed for *Tho. Dring*, at the *Harrow* at *Chancery-Lane* end in *Fleetstreet*, and *Sam. Crouch* in *Popes-head-Alley* near the *Royal Exchange* in *Corn-hill*. 1680.

The Preface.

Courteous Reader,

MY *Original Deſign was to examine by what means our* Engliſh Land-Rents, *lately fallen, might be univerſally* advanced; *which I have principally perſued; but have found ſuch a* Concatenation and Sympathy *between the intereſt of* Land and Trade, *and between theſe, and that of the* Government; *That I have been carried into all the Conſiderations you will meet with; a Task I little expected when I firſt began, and which I could never have ſupported with any Alacrity, but upon hope, that when it ſhall undeniably appear to every one,* that theſe Intereſts are the ſame, *there may follow that general* Amity and mutual Aſſiſtance *to each other, which render a Nation* happy and ſecure.

Though my Intention be thus, Juſt and Innocent, yet I cannot but doubt what Approbation this Diſcourſe may meet with from many of thoſe who have a main ſuffrage *in crying up a* new Book; *ſince it is upon a Subject much out of mode; ſo much, that the very naming it is a matter of* Ridicule *amongſt many of our* ſprightly men: *It is really of ſuch a nature, that it hath not lead me to ſeek for* Smiles, Dinners, *or other more* ſolid Gratifications, *by flattering any predominant humors, Vices or Paſſions, or to make an Intereſt by eſpouſing or canvaſing any* doubtful Points in Religion:

As little can I hope from the Criticks, *(I mean our great Masters in Expression:)* Trade *being a matter of business, and the business of the ordinary people, at least, equally with the rest; I have not endeavoured to dress it up with* Curiosity of Phrase, *by conforming my self to the* Laconick *or* Ciceronian way, *studying for* Metaphors, *spruce words, or the renowned* Antithesis; *nor do I find these flowers will very aptly mingle with the Notions of* Trade; *which are so unfortunate, as to have little or* no Cognation with Love and Honour, *or those other common Themes of Wit which denominate a man a* neat *Author by the Elegancies they inspire him with: But this is not all, I am afraid you will think Trade is the very* Antipodes *to all good breeding, when I shall further tell you, that (had I been sufficiently qualified) it hath not permitted me to gratifie the* Learned *with any of the niceties or finisme's of our most fashionable Studies; nay it hath obliged me to hazard the very* enmity *of others, by impeaching many private and oppressive Interests, whose* Silver-Smiths *may be highly provoked; and when I thought to qualifie any Resentments of that nature, by waving all* Reflections *on particular persons, I am now told, that perhaps my Caution this way may disgust others; whence I cannot but be sensible that these Papers want much of those endearments which render many of our Prints so acceptable; And being under these Apprehensions, I could not but have some Compassionate thoughts of my* Book-Seller; *who must look very melancholly, when some of his Customers shall ask for the* Ancient Forreign Histories *and* Poets, *the new* Philosophical Complements, *and* Books of Astrology, *the Treatise of the* Art of Memory, *or* Swimming; *or such like Rarities;* Others *for the Monstrous* Leviathan, Behemoth, *and* Garagantua; *Others for the new* French Romance, *the* Spick and Span new Play, *and* the new Satyrs; *Others for the new* Books of Cookery, *(for we are arrived to a mighty judgment in eating:) Others for the* Books of

the

the World in the Moon, Terra Incognita, Lues Venerea, *and* Weſtminſter Drollery, &c. *But upon the ſight of the Title Page of this,* (*becauſe it is of* Trade) *ſhall condemn it as fit only to be read by* Milleners and Exchange-men.

But recollecting, that we have yet a far greater number of others, under all Characters and Profeſſions, who bear a due affection both to our Government and People, *I have adventured upon making this Diſcourſe publick; as not diſpairing of* their *Vindication, being aſſured* they *will never think he hath deſerved* ill, *who hath done no more than* endeavoured *to advance and ſecure the common Intereſts of both; in which I ſhould be always happy to be inſtrumental, but eſpecially* then, *when the Nation is under preſent difficulties and eminent dangers; For then certainly it more imports every man to ſeek the* Common Safety, *than any the moſt tempting Additions to his own* private Fortune. *Should the* Mariners *in a Ship ſtand* trifling and ſporting, or contending for Offices, or other gain, on the Decks, whilſt *a gaping* Leak *in the* Keel *lets in the Ocean, we ſhould think them little better than* phrenetical; *ſurely in ſuch an Exigence every man on board ought to give his utmoſt aſſiſtance, he that hath no* ſhare *in the* Cargoe *hath yet a* life *to loſe, no man would then ſlink back to eſcape the* dirt, *or for fear he ſhould be look't on as a* buſie-body. *How far the preſent Condition of our Trade will bear ſuch a* Simile, *I ſhall ſubmit to your Conſideration upon* what follows; *wherein I have, not knowingly, miſ-repreſented any thing, but with my utmoſt application endeavoured to diſcover and ſpeak the* truth *of as much as I have thought fit for me to meddle with.*

Yet I am not ſo very a Jockey, *nor ſo arrant a* Tradeſman in writing, *as to deſire your implicite belief that all I am about to utter is without Imperfection. I am aſſured you will leaſt expect it upon a* Subject *which hath the reputation of being ſo* Comprehenſive *as this, and ſeems to require the aſcer-*

ascertaining of so great a variety of Facts, *that no man upon his* single experience *can pretend to know them; The consideration whereof might have deterred me from engaging in it, and may yet from the perusal, were it not that some of these* Facts, *which make the* Constitutions of Trade, *and therefore* the Causes *of the rest are notorious and capable of little Controversie, whence the rest being the effects may be easily calculated; a course used and allowed in all* Arts and Sciences, *and I conceive with more certainty on this* Subject *than on any other; from whence greater and more notable Discoveries have been made, than by the most vigilant Disquisitions into all the Revolutions of* Facts: Columbus *found out the* Indies *in his Study; so did* Archimedes *the most stupendious Conclusions in the* Mathematicks. *It must be confessed many of those other* Facts *relating to* Commerce, *which are the* effects, *are of greater obscurity, most of them being Forreign, and are so numerous, that they branch into almost as many parts as there are humane Actions; yet of these, some are more* obvious, *and more* important *than others, whereof, as occasions offer, I have endeavoured to give you some accompt where I can speak with any good* assurance, *wherein, if you meet with any defect, you may please to attribute it to this, That I am neither* Omniscient *nor* infallible; *I have also the old excuse at hand, viz.* Importunity of Friends, *that common Midwife of Books, besides the frequent* Interruptions *I have really received by my own ordinary Affairs, which ('tis probable) has caused many abrupt* breaks *and* mis-expressions, *which I have not had time to review and rectifie; hoping that I have however spoken* Intelligibly; *and professing, that I have as well considered and digested the* deliberative and reasoning part *as my Intellectuals will give leave: and if I do not fail in that shall be contented, since it must be admitted that I have written as becomes a man, who hath no better or more discerning faculty than that of his* reason: *I have no ambition to be*

accompted

ccompted an Irrefragable, *or* Printed Author; *being ſen-ible the moſt* Angelical *Writers have had their failings, and hat whoſoever Publiſhes his thoughts in Print, breaks that oftentimes* profitable) *reſerve which* cunning men *affect, nd expoſes his quiet to the* Malice *and* Impertinencies *of* vulgar *Reflections; which nothing but a ſincere love to my* Country, *and the Conſideration of its preſent Circumſtances ould oblige me to diſpence with.*

I ſhall be well ſatisfied if I have ſerved the Publick a ittle, *or made a* ſtep *towards it, which, at leaſt, I hope I ave done, if in a matter of high Conſequence I have but* tirred *Queſtions neceſſary to be cleared by abler heads; Experience hath been ſhewn what admirable performances ave enſued, when a weak Eſſay hath kindled a* Common Emulation, *for then certainly muſt the* brightneſs *of* Truth *appear (diſcharged from that* ruſt and foulneſs *which* time or corruption *hath brought upon it) when the ntellectuals of men are carried into a* rational ferment; *his I take to be the* true uſe, *and moſt* virtuous deſign *of riting, and is all I deſire; let thoſe men wear* Bays *and* Lawrel, *and be* hum'd, *and* clapt, *who are fonder of ſuch rophies than*

Your humble Servant,

Philanglus.

THE

THE Introduction.

IT *hath been the Common Deſign and Buſineſs of Individual Men in* England, *as elſewhere, to obtain ſufficient* Revenues *in Money to the end they may ſecure themſelves from* Neceſſities *and* Shifting, *and live* plentifully; *And yet it may be undeniably and uncomfortably obſerved, That whilſt every one hath eagerly purſued his* private Intereſt, *a kind of* Common Conſumption *hath* crawled *upon us*; *Since our* Land-Rents *are generally much* fallen, *and our* Home-Commodities ſunk *from their late Price and Value*; *Our* Poor *are vaſtly* increaſed, *and the reſt of our People generally more and more feel the* Want of Money; *This Diſeaſe having grown upon us in times of Peace, when no Forreigners have* Exhauſted *us by War-like*

Depredations, may very justly amuse us; and the more, when at the same time, we observe that some of our Neighbour-Nations, *lately our* Equals, *or much our Inferiors, are become so* prodigiously Rich and Powerful *on a sudden,* (*I mean the* French *and* Dutch:) *Certainly these mighty* Productions *must have some great and vigorous* Causes, *which have been very furiously working of* later years, *and such as have not fallen under Common Observation: The Nations and Races of People are the same, and the Countries of* England, France *and* Holland, *stand where they did, they are not removed an Inch; nor do the* English *seem to have lost their Understandings; they are as* cunning *in their private Contracts as ever, and appear nothing inferior to the* French *and* Dutch *in most parts of* Literature; *I question not but that they know all the* Ancient Languages *and* Histories *as well, that our* Academicks *are as subtile in all the* Criticisms *of* Aristotle, *that they have travelled as far into the most abstruse parts of his* Logick, Physicks *and* Metaphysicks; *and yet have we still grown poorer and poorer; So have we excelled in divers* necessary parts of Learning; *We have had as Able, Eloquent and Eminent* Lawyers *and* Clergy-men *as ever, and as Notable* Physitians, *and the Nation seems to have grown more* Learned, *and therefore* Wiser *than before, by the late vast increase of these Ranks of men.*

The

The preſent Diſadvantages we are under, are therefore commonly attributed to Accidents *of divers kinds, as mens preſent particular* Fancies *dictate, in which the greateſt part are contented to reſt ſatisfied without farther enquiry, whilſt they have ſome Proſpects of* Gain *in the* Imployments *they are ſeverally Educated to; Some aſcribe the* fall of Rents *to an over-great increaſe of Corn, by the* ploughing up of Parks; *Others to the modern* Parſimony in Houſe-keeping, *the leſſening of Gentlemens* Retinues, *and leaving off the old laudable Cuſtom of plentiful* Suppers, *which they ſuppoſe occaſions a leſs Conſumption of Victuals; others attribute this, and the want of Money in the Country, to the great reſort of People to* London, *and quarrel at the* New Buildings, *as the Hires and Receptacles which draw them thither; others to the* banking up of Treaſures *in the Coffers of ſome unknown Grandees,* Church-men, Lawyers *or* Citizens, *of which they are highly confident, for elſe, they ſay, what is become of the money? then for the late Progreſs and Trophies of the* French, *many look upon them as the meer effects of the* Deſpotick or Arbitrary Power *of that* Monarchy, *or of the perſonal* cunning *of ſome men now living in* France; *I remember I heard one Gentleman ſay, that the* French Genius was up, *wherewith he gave himſelf and others good ſatisfaction: Others will have it, that the late*

Enemies of the French *wanted* Valor *and* Conduct, *but that if the* French *had the* Engliſh *to contend with, their Glory would ſoon be laid in the Duſt: For the* Dutch, *there are thoſe who will argue their* Riches *and* Populacy *to proceed from the* peculiar Induſtry *of that Nation, and that ſuch an Eternal Toil is not ſupportable by any other; Others, to their ſmall Expence in* Diet *and* Habit, *others to particular Circumſtances in the time and manner of their* Defection *from* Spain; *to their* Regiſter of Titles *and* Contracts, *and their* cheap *and eaſie decision of* Law-Suits.

Of all other things we ſeem to be moſt ſecure *in the matter of* Trade; *we have many who taking themſelves to be* born or intitled to ſo much a year in Land, *do conſider* Trade *as no otherwiſe neceſſary in a Nation, than to* ſupport younger Brothers, *and are ready to thruſt all* Publique Taxes upon Trade, *that they may eaſe the Land; Others who pretend to enquire into it, hear the Cuſtoms are much riſen of late years, and then reſt ſatisfied that we have a mightier* Trade *than ever: We have alſo ſome* Merchants *and* Shopkeepers *who get Eſtates, and buy Land on a ſuddain, which is lookt upon as an Argument of a good* Trade; *We find their mighty and numerous* Shops *and* Warehouſes, *full of goods, and do not hear them complain of* Trade, *Or that Land is brought* to 14 or 16 years

years *purchaſe, or that they buy at a much* abated yearly value.

Some, indeed, juſtly apprehending a Diſeaſe *in our* Trade, *by the decay of our Home* Manufactures, *and an exceſs of Forreign* Importations, *have judiciouſly expreſſed themſelves in it; theſe Nations whilſt in* Embrio, *have been* ralleured *by our Modern* Drolls, *in their new Manufacture of* Plays.

There are others, who with more Deſign *and* Gravity, *tell us, That the Notions of Improvements of* Trade, *are of a* dangerous tendency, *becauſe they threaten part of the preſent Juriſdiction of our* Spiritual Courts, *and the gain of many* Offices, *by ſome requiſite Toleration of* Conſcience, *and other mittigations relating to* Trade, *and upon this Occaſion the ſame Objectors proceed to argue the Improvements of Trade to be of as bad Conſequence to the* State, *by filling the Nation with Trading-Religious Diſſenters, or by a neceſſary moderating of the preſent* Cuſtom-Rates: *They alſo inſinuate, that we ought not to look for ſuch a perfection of Trade under a* Monarchical Government, *but to diſpoſe of our ſelves otherwiſe as we can; We have others that ſay, Trade is a* miſterious thing, *and not intelligible in any part of it, without a long Apprentiſhip, and therefore wholly refer themſelves to the* Merchants *and* private Traders; *Others that 'tis* Mechanical, *and not* Gentleman-like.

But if it fall out that these are all mistaken Opinions, if Trade *alone hath produced the afore-mentioned Effects in* England, France *and* Holland, *If the rise and fall of* Rents *absolutely depend upon it*; *If* Liberty and Property *be made valuable by Trade only, and are not valuable or safe without it*; *If a* Nation *may be made* strong or weak *by the meer different Operations of* Trade; *If the* Taxing *or burthening of* Trade *must reduce all Land-Revennes, if the* easing *of* Trade *either in the particular Custom-Rates, or otherwise, will make the whole Revenue of the* Customs *greater, or else much enhance all other publick as well as private Revenues*; *If a mighty Trade be consistent with a* Monarchical Government? (*where there is* Property and Liberty:) *If it be a false and officious* Scandal *to this form of Government, to affirm the contrary, if* England *of all other Nations, be naturally most capable of the Advantages of* Trade, *but yet the* Trade *of* England *of late years hath been* Consumptive; *If the late Policies of our Neighbour-Nations have rendred our* old established *Methods of* Trade *insufficient, If we have divers late* innovated Obstructions *in our* Trade, *if this hath caused an* over-ballance of Forreign Importations, *If our National Industry hath been imployed to enrich* Forreigners, *if our own Treasures have been* exhausted *by our own Trade, and will soon be swept away in the*

the preſent courſe of it, Nay, even notwithſtanding our late Prohibition of French Goods, *if the Objections againſt the enlarging and bettering of our Trade ariſe from* private Intereſts, *in contradiction to the Publique, or from* Paſſion *or* Humour, *and if this be intelligible to every man of ſenſe, that will take the pains to enquire into it. Then certainly it muſt follow,*

That it does much import all Engliſh Gentlemen, Owners of Land, *and others, who take themſelves to be ſharers in the* National Intereſt *to examine the paſt and preſent State of our* Trade, *and to ſeek for a* legal Regulation *of it; And that all* private Intereſts *deſtructive to our Trade ought to be relaxed, and given up for the future.*

Private Intereſt *is that many headed-*Monſter, *I am chiefly to encounter with, in which if any particular perſon ſhall take himſelf to be concerned, I ſhall deſire him to conſider, whether his own Condition would not be more truly* honourable *and* ſafe *under more open Methods of* Trade? *I ſhall pray him to look into the nature of* meer private Intereſt, *which if he do, he muſt confeſs it the ſame Principle that leads men into* Cheats, Thefts, *and all thoſe other baſe, mercyleſs and execrable* Villanies, *which render the Actors Criminous, and odious by the Sufferings and Injuries they bring upon others.*

Then if any mans particular way of Gain be ſo prejudicial to Trade, as to occaſion the continual Beggery *of* Thouſands *of his Countrymen, is not this more then equally miſchievous to ſo many* thouſand *Thefts? But what if this Beggery muſt unavoidably cauſe many thouſand* actual *Thefts, nay* Murders *and* Enormities *of all kinds, and as it grows more Univerſal, muſt bring the Nation into an* impotent *and indefenſeable* weakneſs? *Have we any amongſt us that will be yet* tenacious *of ſuch ways of Gain? Will they tell us that they are not puniſhable by any* Laws *in force? 'tis pity they are not. So there was a time when in* Old Rome, *there was no direct Law againſt* Parricide: *But that they may no longer ſhelter themſelves under this* Umbrage, *it were highly neceſſary that* Laws *were made to control them, and to remove all Obſtructions in our* Trade.

That Trade *is of this National* Importance *and* Influence, *and that the Trade of* England *in particular, hath been and continues under theſe* Diſadvantages, *will, I think, ſufficiently appear to any indifferent Reader, by the following Diſcourſe; Of which having given the Reader a taſt, by way of* Introduction, *I ſhall proceed to what I have undertaken, and ſhall begin with ſome* Preliminaries,

ries, *of which part are* self-evident, *and for those that are not (being not able to say all at once) refer the Reader to the following* Sections.

SECT.

SECT. I.

Trade National or Private, Home or Forreign Treaſures Imported by Trade, thence Land-Rents, Popularly increaſed, the Revenues of all Ranks of men depend upon Trade, People and Treaſure make National Strength, particular Advantages in Treaſure, the difference between Ancient and Modern Wars, Navigation ſupported by Trade, this neceſſary for the Security of an Iſland, and therein the farther ſcope of the whole.

TRade is either *National or Private:* The *National Trade* doth influence the Wealth and Strength of a *whole Nation*, and therefore is not the only Concern of *Merchants*.

Private Trade hath regard to the particular Wealth of the Trader, and doth ſo far differ in

in the ſcope and deſign of it from the *National*, that a private Trade may be very beneficial to the private Trader, but of hurtful, nay of very ruinous Conſequence to the whole Nation; as will appear.

I ſhall ſpeak of National Trade, which is properly divided into *Home* Trade, and *Forreign* Trade.

The Home Trade in every Nation hath dependance on the Forreign Trade, if a Nation hath no Gold or Silver-Mines within its own Territory, there is no practicable way of bringing *Treaſure* into it (in times of Peace) but by Forreign Trade: And if ſuch a Nation be not enriched by Imported Treaſure, its Home Trade can only be managed by *Exchange of Goods for Goods.*

But if Treaſure be Imported, then may its Home Trade be managed by buying and ſelling for *money.*

And from hence may the *Lands* in ſuch a Nation come to yield a *money Rent*, which is the produce or profits of Land ſold for *money.*

In which Caſe the *price of Home Commodities*, and conſequently the yearly *Rent of Lands* in a Nation which hath *populacy* and *property*, will hold proportion with the quantity of the National Treaſure; and will riſe or fall as the Treaſure does increaſe or diminiſh.

For

For where there is an increaſe of *Treaſure* in a Nation which hath *property*, this will ordinarily diffuſe amongſt the people by the neceſſity and ſucceſſion of *Contracts*; and then the people having univerſally more money than before, the *Seller* will not be ſo *neceſſitous* for money as before, and will have a greater *choice of Chapmen*, who will be more able and ready to buy.

Theſe numbers of Chapmen will inevitably raiſe the Market one upon the other, as is demonſtrable by common and undeniable Experience and Fact; And therefore I ſhall lay it as a ground in Commerce, That the *plenty of Chapmen*, who have *plenty of money*, will cauſe a higher and quicker Market for any deſireable Commodity, eſpecially if the *Seller* be not ſo *neceſſitous* for money as to be forced to *ſnap* at the firſt offer.

And that on the other ſide, where there be fewer Chapmen, who have leſs money, and the Sellers themſelves are more neceſſitous, they muſt and will ſell lower; This muſt inevitably happen in a Nation where there is little money.

For inſtance, If there were but 500 *l.* Sterling in *England*, an Ox could hardly be worth a peny, nor could the Revenue of all *England* be 500 *l. per annum*, or not above;

 It

It follows then, that a Forreign Trade (by increaſing the National Treaſure) will advance *home Markets*, and the value of *Lands* in *England*.

I ſhall admit that if a Nation can be *Victorious in War*, and can plunder the Conquered, ſome Treaſures may happen to be Imported this way; But certainly thoſe who conſider it, will rather deſire to be enriched by Trade than by War, ſince in the Courſe of Trade, far mightier Treaſures may be gotten with *Peace, Innocence, Security, and Happineſs to the People*, who cannot be Victorious in War without Bloodſheds, Rapines, Violences, and Perpetrations of all kinds; they alſo muſt be ſubject to perpetual difficulties and hazards in the hardſhips and event of War, which will diſturb or ſubvert the Home Trade, nor can the Treaſure of a People ſo imployed circulate in the Markets to any advantagious degree; or ſhould we have any ſuch *Bravoes* or *Knights Errant* as would rather purchaſe Wealth by Fighting than by Induſtry, yet are theſe imaginary Conqueſts abſolutely impracticable at this day without the aſſiſtance of Forreign Trade; as will be ſhewn.

But firſt upon the former grounds I ſhall add, that a Forreign Trade (if managed to the beſt advantage) will yet further advance the values of Lands, by neceſſitating a vaſt

in-

increaſe of people, ſince it muſt maintain great multitudes of people in the very buſineſs of Trade, which could not otherwiſe be ſupported, (as will alſo further appear): All which having the Rewards of their Labours in their hands, will ſtill enlarge the choice of Chapmen to the Sellers, and there being ſo many more perſons to be fed and cloathed, there muſt be a far greater home Conſumption of all the products of Land.

And hence muſt ariſe a kind of Competition amongſt the people who ſhall farm or purchaſe Land, when the Revenue of Land is certain, and grows higher daily, as the Treaſure and People increaſe, which muſt cauſe Land to riſe as well in the years purchaſe, as in the years value; nay, the very Earth muſt receive an inevitable *Improvement* by their Induſtrious numbers, whilſt every one will be able and willing to poſſeſs and manure a greater or leſſer part, according to his occaſions; there is hardly any Land in *England* but may be improved to double the value, and very much to treble and more.

This neceſſary Improvement of Rent and Land is verified in the Forreign inſtance of *Holland*, and in ſuch of our *Engliſh* Lands as lie near great and populous *Corporations*; And on the other ſide, we ſee that in *Spain* and *Turky*, and alſo in ſuch parts of *England* and *Ireland*,

Ireland, where there is little Trade, and fewer people, there lie great quantities of Land which yield little or no profit; and hence I conclude, That the Revenue and Value of Land will ſimpathize with the National Trade.

There are indeed certain Ranks of Men of honourable and neceſſary Imployments and Profeſſions in every Nation, whoſe Revenues do not ſo immediately ariſe from Trade; ſuch are *Officers* greater and leſs, *Lawyers*, *Phyſicians*, and ſuch like.

But though theſe are not placed in the direct Channel of Trade, yet 'tis very plain they derive their Revenues from it; being ſupported in their Grandure and Gains at the coſt of the Land-Holders and Traders; who will be more capable and willing to give them greater Gratuities and Fees, when their own pockets are fuller; and as the People, Trade and Contracts do increaſe, there will be more Law-Suits and Diſeaſes, and ordinarily more Fees and Gratuities, ſo will there be more Houſes built, more Apparel made, and more Imployment of all ſorts for *Maſons*, *Carpenters*, *Taylors*, and men of all other middle and inferior Callings.

And from hence it alſo follows, That a Forreign Trade managed to the beſt advantage, will make a *Nation vaſtly ſtronger than naturally*

naturally it was, becauſe money and people do ordinarily make National ſtrength.

Money is neceſſary for the purchaſing of many Proviſions for War by Land or Sea, as Arms, Victuals, Ammunition, materials for Shipping, and many others, which being gotten, yet neither Souldiers nor Sea-men will now adventure themſelves at the mouths of Cannon and Musket without pay, whereof the further Conſequence is that the Prince and Nation which hath the greateſt Treaſure, will finally have the Victory, and probably with little or no fighting.

For being enabled by their Treaſure to keep themſelves in *a poſture of War*, they will oblige their Enemies to the like Expence, till their Enemies Treaſures are exhauſted, and then their *Armies* and alſo their *Councils* will diſſipate.

This ſhews the difference between the *ancient* and *preſent* Courſe of *War*, for anciently the event of War was tried by frequent Battels, and generally ſucceeded as one Nation was Superior to the other in perſonal Strength and Roughneſs; But ſince the Wealth of the *Indies* came to be diſcovered and diſperſed more and more, Wars are managed *by much Treaſure and little Fighting*, and therefore with little hazard to the richer Nation.

And

And hence alſo doth it appear that in the preſent condition of the World, it is in a manner impoſſible for a Nation to gain Riches by Conqueſt and Plunder, unleſs it hath firſt ſtore of Treaſure at Home, which cannot otherwiſe be gotten than by Forreign Trade.

Alſo *money* will command the *Service and Lives* of any *poorer and rougher Nation*, It will purchaſe the *Aſſiſtance* of Forreign *Princes*, it will *indear* their great *Miniſters*, open their *Cabinets*, engage true and cloſe Correſpondencies, and *poiſon* their *Councils*: It will paſs unſeen through Rampiers, Fortifications, and Guards into Cities and Forts, and will ſurprize them without the tedious hazards of Seiges; It will purchaſe Governors and Generals, and like Lightning will conſume the *Heart* of a poorer Nation, whilſt its *Countenance and Outſide* ſhall remain freſh.

So are *people* neceſſary to Guard the Treaſures, and defend the Nation, who will be more or leſs true and ſerviceable to the National Intereſt, as they have a greater or leſſer *ſhare in it*; he that hath ſomewhat of his own, and lives Comfortably, will ſtoutly defend the Nation againſt Invaders; But if a People be poor and miſerable, their Condition being uneaſie, it will be indifferent to them who is Conqueror; nay they will hope for a better Condition by turning the Tables; ſo is it of

dangerous Conſequence that the People ſhould become *vitious*, becauſe it generally weakens their Bodies, Courages, or Faiths: In all which the excellency of a great and well regulated Forreign Trade may be diſcerned, ſince it will render the People Rich, and ordinarily Virtuous; as will alſo appear.

But Forreign Trade may bring a particular advantage to an *Iſland* by a great *Navigation*, without which its impoſſible for any Iſland long to defend it ſelf againſt a Forreign Enemy potent in Shipping, for the *Invaders* circling an Iſland with their Ships, may ſail from Place to Place, and Rob, Spoil and Kill, before the Natives can, by long Land-Marches, apply their Courage and Land-Forces to reſiſt them; which muſt neceſſarily diſtract and weary out the moſt valiant People on the Earth: this hath been evident by many Demonſtrations in *England*, which hath been often Conquered by Forreigners for want of a ſufficient *Naval Force*, particularly by the *Romans*, nay by the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*; but hath more often repulſed Forreigners, whilſt we have been moſt *powerful at Sea*; and therefore the conſtant Policies of this Kingdom have long aſpired too, and enjoyed a *Soveraignty of the Sea*, and kept a narrow and jealous watch on Neighbour-Nations, leaſt they ſhould aggrandize their Naval Strengths.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The ſeveral kinds of Forreign Trade, of trading with Home or Forreign Navigation, ſome general Application.

IT will be then proper to conſider how a Forreign Trade may be driven to moſt Advantage for the increaſe of *National Treaſure, People, and Navigation.*

A Forreign Trade may be driven by a Nation with *Forreign Navigation*, or with *Home Navigation.*

A Forreign Trade driven with *Forreign Navigation*, is when a Nation ſells its Commodities at Home to ſuch Forreigners as come hither to Buy and Export them.

This ſort of Forreign-Trade may enrich a Nation with Treaſure more or leſs, as the Commodities ſo ſold are of greater or leſſer quantity and value.

But it is very plain, that if the Natives had *Exported* the ſame Commodities to the ſame Forreigners in *Shipping of their own*, the ſame Commodities would have yielded a greater Rate in the Forreign Ports, becauſe the Natives muſt have been alſo paid for the *Carriage*; which by ſo much would have increaſed the

National Gain; wherefore it is more advantagious for a Nation to Export its own Commodities by Navigation of its own.

But it will not follow; that 'tis therefore neceſſary or fit to confine all Exportations to Home Navigation by Penal Laws, eſpecially in *England*, as will be ſhewn.

Nor does it follow that a Nation which doth Export its own Commodities, ſhall be alwayes richer than another that ſells at home; for the Commodities of one Nation ſold at home may yield ten times more money at home, than the Commodities exported by the other ſhall yield abroad, and therefore muſt make it ten times richer.

This may be verified in the Trade of *France*; whoſe Commodies ſold at home to the *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, and others, for many years paſt, have brought vaſt quantities of money into *France*, perhaps more than all the Neighbour Nations have gotten by their exported Commodities, by which means, and no other, *France* is become the Terrour of the World, as I ſhall more particularly and fully ſhew.

A beneficial Forreign Trade, with home Navigation, may be ſaid to be of two ſorts:

The one conſiſts in the meer *Exportation* of home Commodities into Forreign Nations where they may be vended, of which I have ſpoken before.

The

The other, in Trading and Huxtering *from Port to Port.*

The benefit of Trading or Huxtering from Port to Port conſiſts in buying Commodities cheaper in one Forreign Port, and ſelling them dearer in ſome others; in which caſe the Nation Trading ordinarily gets more or leſs, in proportion, as the Merchants buy for leſs and ſell for more, and as the Stock and Navigation imployed in this ſort of Trade is more or leſs.

The *Dutch* being to buy much of their Victuals, Cloaths, and other neceſſaries from abroad, and having little Commodities of their own to Export, put themſelves upon this Trading *from Port to Port*; which Trade they have improved to that degree, that they are become, as it were, the Common Carriers of the World, imploying near 30000 Trading-Veſſels, (including thoſe which belong to their Fiſhery.) In this way of Trade have this Induſtrious People yearly bought up vaſt quantities of *French* Manufactures and Commodities, and uttered them again for preſent profit in other parts of the World, not foreſeeing thoſe dangers they have been bringing upon themſelves and all *Europe.*

The *Engliſh* have never attained to near ſo Univerſal Manufacture as the *French*, or ſo general a huxtering Trade as the *Dutch*; But

yet until this laſt Age had a greater proportion of each then the *Dutch* or *French*; their Trade hath chiefly conſiſted in the Exportation of their own Commodities, and Manufactures made of their own home Materials; of which that of our *Wooll* being the Principal, was long thought and really ſtill is, or might be, the greateſt and richeſt in the World; This, with our exported *Tin*, *Lead*, *Iron*, *Allome*, *Fiſh*, and other valuable things, brought in a ſufficient quantity of Forreign Commodities to ſerve our National Occaſions, Pomp and Ornament, and left an Annual Increaſe of Imported Treaſure, which in length of time had much enriched the Nation, though our neat Annual Gain by Forreign Trade did never bring in much above 250000 *l.* or 300000 *per annum* increaſe of Treaſure, one year with another (taking any number of 20 years together) as may be reaſonably collected by what will follow; nor was that a Contemptible Gain (as the Trade of this part of the World formerly ſtood) ſince it had rendred this Kingdom as Rich and Happy at home, and as formidable abroad, as any in *Europe*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of Forreign Trade conſiſting in Exportation, of the advantages of home Manufactures, and Manufactures, incidently other home Trades and Imployments are conſidered; and which of them enrich a Nation; of the Fiſhing-Trade, and the annual exporting of Corn.

THe National Gain, by Forreign Trade, conſiſting either in vending home Commodies to Forreigners, or in Trading from Port to Port; It may be fit to be conſidered how theſe branches of Trade may be improved to the utmoſt.

Home Commodities vendible and exportable to Forreigners, are either ſuch as are Capable of little or no *Manufacture*, as Coals, &c.

Or elſe ſuch as may be manufactured, which may be called the *Principals or Materials* of Manufacture; ſuch are Wooll, Silk, Flax, Hemp, Tin, Iron, Skins, Corn, and others.

Moſt materials of Manufacture are of ſmall value whilſt raw and unwrought, at leaſt in Compariſon of the Manufacture, ſince by Manufacture they may be made of five, ten, or twenty times their firſt value, according to

the *Workmanſhip*; which is proved by the Woollen, Silk and Linnen Manufactures, and almoſt infinite others; wherefore if a Nation hath naturally any Materials of Manufacture, it is far more advantagious to Export them in Manufacture, rather than the raw Materials, becauſe the Manufacture is ſo much more valuable, and will make a return of five, ten, or twenty times more *Treaſure* to the Nation than the raw Materials.

Beſides, it is moſt dangerous to Export the Materials of Manufacture, ſince it may transfer the Manufacture it ſelf into ſome Neighbour Nation, and with it the incident Riches and Populacy; by which means a Neighbour-Nation may become five ten, or twenty times richer and ſtronger than that Nation which doth Export its Materials, and thoſe innocent Materials may in a ſhort time return in the ſhape of *armed Men and Ships*, to the Terror and Confuſion of an unwiſe and lazy People.

But if Forreigners will vend their *raw* Materials of Manufacture, it is neceſſary, or highly convenient for a Nation to Import them, and put them into Manufacture at home; after which, this Manufacture may be either exported and ſold for much more than the Materals coſt, or being uſed at home, will prevent the neceſſity of *Importing* the like

from abroad, by which the Nation will *ſave* to the value of the Manufacture: Thus do the *French* and *Dutch* manufacture Forreign Silk, *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* Wooll, and many other Forreign Materials, which they Export and ſell again with prodigious advantage.

The *ſorts* of Manufacture are ſo various, and almoſt infinite, that there is no People ſo great or numerous but may be univerſally imployed by it; There are many which relate to *Eating and Drinking*, many more to *Apparel* of all ſorts, Furniture of *Houſes*, *Equipage*, *Navigation*, *War*, *Literature* and *Science*, unneceſſary, but acceptable *Toyes*, to gratifie the humors and follies of Men, Women, and Children, under all which generals, there are ſo many *ſpecies* of Manufactures, that the very naming of them would make a Volume, ſome are of *ſimple* Materials, ſome of *mixt*.

The Labours of the People beſtowed this way, muſt neceſſarily glomerate the Riches of the World, and muſt render any Nation a prodigy of Wealth; for whilſt vaſt numbers of Manufacturers are thus continually improving the value of ſome Commodities or other, they work for the *Nation* where they live as well as for themſelves; If 100000 Manufacturers get 6 *l. per annum* a piece, the Nation muſt gain or ſave 600000 *l. per annum* by

by their Labours, (ſuppoſing the Materials to be meliorated only to the value of their *Wages*;) If the number of the Manufacturers be greater, or if the ſame number gain more a piece, then is the National gain ſtill greater and greater in proportion: All which is too evident in the preſent inſtance of *France*, and the contrary in that of *Spain*, which although ſupplied with the Wealth of the *Indies*, is, for want of home Manufactures, the pooreſt and weakeſt of all Nations, and the moſt *diſpeopled*.

For by Manufactures, a Nation may ſupport many hundred thouſands of Families, beſides the meer Tillers of Lands and Keepers of Cattel, with increaſe of *people* ſhall live well, without being a clog and vexation to the Landholders, and ſhall be highly beneficial to the reſt of the Natives in times of Peace, as otherwiſe they will not be; and as the people increaſe, ſo may the kinds and quantities of Manufacture; the very *Women and Children* may ordinarily get good Livelihoods in Manufacture.

Hence muſt follow a ſweet Harmony in a Nation which hath property, when every ones Hand and Head is imployed, and when there comes a reciprocation of advantage to the Landholders, and all others, as neceſſarily there muſt; And as Manufacture ſeems a kind

of *debt* to the *laborious* part of the people, who by nature are intitled to live; ſo it is the higheſt of all *Charities*; as it is moſt ſubſtantial and univerſal; What ſignifies the diſtribution of a little *broken meat* amongſt a few Wretches, in Compariſon of the ſupport of hundreds of thouſands of Families? And laſtly, it is attended with the promiſed Rewards of Charity, *viz. Plenty, Glory, and Proſperity to a whole Nation.*

This, and what hath been ſaid in the laſt Section, may adminiſter occaſion to conſider what ſorts of Trades, Imployments, and Profeſſions do *add to the Riches of a Nation, and what not.*

It is evident that all ſorts of home Manufactures muſt advance or ſave the National Wealth, the like may be ſaid of thoſe who are imployed in the *Fiſhing-Trade*, ſo may the Trade and Profeſſion of a *Merchant* add to the National Riches.

There are another ſort of home-Traders, who live meerly by *buying cheaper and ſelling dearer at home*, ſuch are *Retailers* of all ſorts in the City and Country, whom we call *Shopkeepers*; of which a convenient number are neceſſary in every Nation to keep open *Marts and Markets* for the vending of Commodities; Theſe may advance their private Stocks and Eſtates by buying cheaper and ſelling

ſelling dearer, but cannot (meerly by this way of Trade) add a peny to the National Riches, ſo that it may truly be ſaid of one poor Manufacturer, that he adds more in a year to the Wealth of the Nation than all ſuch Retailers and Shop-keepers in *England.*

And if theſe Shop-keepers deal over-much in *Conſumptive Forreign Wares*, they may aſſiſt in the *beggary* of the Nation; ſo may the Trade of a Merchant *export and exhauſt* the National Riches, if he trade over-much in meer *Conſumptive Importations.*

And therefore though the *gain* of the perſons imployed be one main end and deſign of all Trades and Imployments, and in that reſpect they are all alike; Yet they differ in this; That in ſome of them the perſons imployed do immediately or ultimately gain money from *Forreigners*; But in the other, they gain from the *people*, and from *one another.*

Of the laſt ſort, are all Imployments relating to the *Law and Phyſick*, ſo are *Offices* of all kinds (which I do not ſay to inſinuate any of theſe Imployments to be *uſeleſs* in a Nation, or to diminiſh from that due reſpect which ought to be given to Men of Place.) There is no queſtion but they are highly neceſſary for the Regulation of the Body-Politick, and the body-Natural; ſo are the

the *Clergy* for the Information of Mens Conſciences; and therefore in every Nation convenient numbers of the people ought to be ſet apart for theſe purpoſes; But as far as they are *Imployments*, and intended for *private gain*, 'tis plain they add no Treaſure to the Nation, but only enable the perſons ſo imployed to ſhare and heap up the Treaſures already Imported; The like may be ſaid of all other ways of living by meer *Literature and the Pen*, and ſome inferior In-land Imployments mentioned before; It muſt therefore be of dangerous Conſequence if the Trade of a Nation run into over-much *Shop-keeping*, or if too many of the people withdrawing themſelves from Manufactures, and the beneficial parts of Trade, ſhould throng themſelves into the *Clergy*, *Law*, *Phyſick*, *Literature*, and ſuch other Profeſſions as bring no *increaſe* of National Riches; And the rather, becauſe theſe Imployments and Profeſſions are *narrow*, and can ſupport but a *few* Families in a Nation with convenience; ſo that it may endanger *Depopulation*, and by their numbers will prejudice one another; Whereas Manufacture and a great Forreign Trade, will admit of and oblige an increaſe of people even to infinity: And the more the Manufacturers increaſe, they will the more enrich one another, and the reſt of the people; It may then be

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proper to inquire how the *Manufactures* of a Nation may be *increased and improved.*

This may be done either by enlarging former Manufactures, or by introducing new ones.

New Manufactures must be first taught, and then encouraged, and if made of Forreign Materials, the Materials must be Imported, after which, as the people find the sweet of their Labours, it is not to be questioned but that they will throng into the Imployment; they that want Bread, Cloathes, and other necessary Comforts, will be glad to obtain them honestly; Thus our King *Edward* the Third (a Wise and Victorious Prince) invited over the *Flemmings* to teach his Subjects the Woollen Manufacture; And thus have the *French* Policies invited over the most Exquisite Manufacturers into *France* from all parts of the World; these with their Schollars were first imployed at the Charge of the Government; But the Manufactures soon afterwards diffused into the gross Body of the people.

Without these primary Encouragements and Superintendence of the Government, it will be hard to nourish up any new Manufacture, or to enlarge any old ones, at least, suddenly, to any great degree.

Amongst

Amongſt the Exportations, the *Fiſhing-Trade* ought not to be forgotten, ſince, according to modern Calculations, the meer Fiſhing-Trade for *Herring and Cod* on the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland* imploys above 3000 *Dutch* Ships or Veſſels, 200000 of their Sea-men, and Fiſhers; And the Herrings and Cod ſold by the *Dutch* in Forreign Countries, do bring an Annual profit of aboue 5000000 *l. per annum* Sterling to that Nation: beſides which, 'tis accounted that there are at leaſt 25000 people more imployed and maintained at Home about this particular Navigation, making of Fiſhing-Nets, and the curing, ordering, and preparing of the Fiſh, &c. beſides the *Iſland*, *Newfound-Land*, and *Greenland*, fiſhings of very great advantage.

See Mr. *Smith* of Improvements, *pa.* 268, 269, 270. computes the whole profit of this Fiſhery to be ten millions ſterling: *per annum*, in a manner, all gained by other Nations.

But the ordinary Exportation of *Corn* out of the *Annual increaſe*, hath been accounted moſt dangerous, and of all others the moſt unprofitable, becauſe of the poſſibility of a dearth; which beſides the hardſhips of it, will give opportunity to Forreigners of drawing away vaſt Treaſures in a trice.

But if a Nation doth *ſtore* up Corn in cheap years, the people will be ſecure againſt a Dearth, and yet when Corn is exceſſive dear in

in Neighbour-Nations, may then take their time to furniſh them, and by that means will make much greater Advantages than by ordinary Exportation; And for this reaſon have the modern Policies of ſome wiſe Nations in Trade, contrived and erected *publick Storehouſes or Conſervatories for Corn.*

I ſhall conclude with the words of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in his excellent Obſervations upon Trade, preſented to King *James*. "*Amſterdam* is never without 700000 quarters of Corn, a dearth in *England*, *France*, "*Italy*, or *Portugal*, is truly obſerved to enrich *Holland* for ſeven years after; For example, the laſt Dearth ſix years paſt, the "*Hamburghers*, *Embdeners*, and *Hollanders* out of their *Storehouſes* furniſhed this Kingdom, and from *Southampton*, *Exceſter*, and *Briſtol* only, in a year and half, carried away near 200000 *l.* Then what great quantities of Corn did they Tranſport from round about the Kindgom? from every *Port-Town*, from the City of *London*, and other Cities? it cannot be eſteemed leſs than two Millions: to the great decay and impoveriſhment of the People, diſcredit to the Merchants, diſhonour of the Land, &c.

Suppoſe

Suppoſe then a Dearth or Scarcity of Corn happen once in twenty or thirty years, the Annual Labours of the People in the produce of the exported Corn are loſt; 'tis alſo a *bulky* Commodity, and makes but a ſmall yearly Return, and the Forreign price and vent of it is very caſual, and incertain, for which Reaſons, of latter years, the ordinary exporting of Corn is uſed only by ſome poor Nations, who have little other Trade, 'tis ſaid the *French* King hath Ordered publick Stores and Conſervatories of Corn.

SECT. IV.

Of Forreign Trade from Port to Port, the Nature and Advantage of it, differs from meer Carriage, and meer Importation; the neceſſity of a Home Storehouſe: The ordinary Exporting of Money or Bullion, of dangerous Conſequence; how to be avoided: The Fiſhing-Trade, and Trade from Port to Port are the Nurſery and ſupport of Sea-men, and Sea-Towns; The Condition of Ours; The National Advantages of England *for all ſorts of Trade, yet hath the leaſt ſhare.*

SInce the Trade from *Port to Port* will cauſe a great *Navigation*, and alſo bring in very much *Treaſure*, and therefore if it be added to the Trade of *Exportation*, muſt render a Nation the Miracle of Riches and Power; I ſhall next conſider what this Trade from Port to Port really conſiſts in, and by what methods it may be driven moſt advantagiouſly to a Nation.

A Trade from *Port to Port* may be moſt properly ſo called, when a Merchant of one Nation buying Goods in another, the Property becomes his, and he carries them to a third

third Forreign Market on his own account; thus the *Dutch* buy up, Export and ſell the *French* Manufactures and Commodities; But if a *Dutch*-man carry *French* Goods to be ſold in a Forreign Market, on a *French mans account*, taking a certain Rate for the Hire of his Ship; this is not properly a Trade from Port to Port, but is *meer Carriage*; which ſort of Imployment (though it may ſeem leaſt Reputable) may increaſe the National Treaſure, as the Navigation uſed in it is more or leſs, and may imploy many Sea-men.

A Trade from Port to Port doth alſo differ from *meer Importation*, which is, when the Merchant does Import Conſumptive Commodities, which are ſpent at Home, in which caſe, if the Importations are *exceſſive*, it may truly be called *The Diſeaſe of Trade*, ſince it muſt cauſe an Exportation of the National Stock of Treaſure, and thereby may ſoon ruine a Nation, as will be ſhewn; But ſo cannot a Trade from Port to Port, truly ſo called, becauſe the Goods bought being ſold or bartered off, at other Forreign Ports, muſt be ultimately converted into more and more money, and thereby increaſe the home Treaſure.

This Trading from Port to Port, does not wholly conſiſt in the Carriage of a

Commodity from one Port directly to another; nor can be ſo driven to any great, or ordinary Advantage; for the Merchants thus Imployed, muſt either Trade *little*, or elſe muſt *glut* the Ports they go to with an over-great quantity of Goods of the ſame kind; and therefore for the full Improvement of a Trade from Port to Port, it is generally neceſſary, That the Merchants ſhould firſt unlade at Home, which will inevitably render a Nation ſo Trading a compleat and mighty *Storehouſe* of all Forreign Manufactures and Commodities; and then from this infinite Miſcellany of Goods (as the Merchants obſerve their time for a Market and the Ports they go to) they may freight their Ships with ſuch *ſortible Commodities and Cargoes*, as are proper and vendible to advantage; Thus are the *Dutch* Provinces become the mighty *Storehouſe* of the World; the Plenties of the World do grow and increaſe in other Countries, but there are the Stores, and thence do their Merchants furniſh themſelves for all ſorts of Voyages; "Thus "they Tranſport the Merchandizes of *France*, "*Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Turky*, the *Eaſt* and "*Weſt Indies* to the Eaſt and North-Eaſt "Countries of *Pomerland*, *Sprnſland*, *Muſ-*

"*covy*,

* See Sir *William Temple's* Book of the *Dutch Cap. of Trade*, pag. 210. 232.

" *covy, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Lieſland,* " *Swedeland, Germany*; and the Merchandi- " zes of the laſt mentioned Kingdoms they " tranſport into the Southern and Weſtern " Nations, as Sir *Walter Raileigh* long ſince noted, nor is a Trade from Port to Port practicable, or can be improved to any conſiderable or valuable degree, unleſs the Nation be made an univerſal Storehouſe.

In the Trade from Port to Port there muſt be ſome kinds of *Original Exportation*, becauſe the Merchant cannot purchaſe Forreign Goods in a Forreign Port for nothing.

And one would think it ſhould hardly be a queſtion, whether in this way of Trade it be moſt profitable to a Nation *to Export Manufacture, or other home Commodities, or Money, or Bullion.*

But of late years many of our Merchants very much contend for a Liberty to Export Money or Bullion as advantagious to the Trade of the Nation, and have gotten an Act of Parliament to Legitimate the exporting of Bullion, contrary to many other former Statutes, and now Bullion and Money alſo are become our uſual exportable Commodities.

Stat. reſtraining the Exportation of Money and Bullion are 9 *E.* 3. *Cap.* 1. 2 *H.* 4. 5*tb* 5 *R.* 2. 2 *H.* 6. 6*tb* 4 *H.* 7.23. 19 *H.*7.5.

The Exportation of Bullion Licenſed by a ſhort Clauſe of 15 *Car.* 2. *Cap.* 7. intituled *Trade Incouraged.*

But I ſhall oppoſe the ordinary Exporting of Money or Bullion in Trade, eſpecially as the Conſtitution of our Trade now is, for the Reaſons following:

Firſt, I ſhall admit that the exporting of Treaſure in the Trade from Port to Port may increaſe Treaſure, provided that the Merchant makes wiſe Bargains, and his Ships return ſafe, neither of which is altogether certain; But ſuppoſing the Merchant be both ſo wiſe and fortunate, yet 'tis very plain that in this way of Trade the Merchant cannot bring more new Treaſure to the *Nation* than the Merchant by his judicious and proſperous dealing and Voyage can *Add* to the Original Sum he *carried out.*

But had the *Merchant* taken off and exported to the ſame value in home *Manufacture or Commodity*, 'tis as plain that the very vending or bartering of that Manufacture or Commodity, would have been a farther Gain to the *Nation*, to the full value of the Manufacture or Commodity exported; ſince the Manufacture or home Commodity ſold would finally reſolve into Treaſure, nay, though the *Merchant* gain but little or nothing in this caſe, yet the *Nation* muſt be a Gainer to the value of the Manufacture or other Commodity exported.

As

As ſuppoſe a *Dutch* or *Engliſh* Ship go with exported Treaſure to *France*, where the Merchant buys *French* Wine for 1000 *l.* which afterwards he carries into the *Sound*, and there ſells it for 1300 *l.* the Merchant hath brought but 300 *l.* new Treaſure or Credit to the *Nation*; But had the Merchant Exported Herrings or home Manufacture, and by Sale or Barter of his Fiſh or Manufacture had purchaſed the ſame quantity of Wines, which afterwards he ſold for 1300 *l.* the *Nation* muſt preſently have a new Addition of Treaſure or Credit for the whole 1300 *l.* In which laſt Caſe the *Nation* gets a new 1000 *l.* by the labours of the Fiſhers or Manufacturers, beſides the 300 *l.* got by the Merchant; if the Merchant had got nothing, yet the *Nation* had gained 1000 *l.*

Secondly, In this laſt Caſe great numbers of Manufacturers, Fiſhers, &c. are kept and well maintained at Home, whereas the ordinary Exportation of Money muſt make them idle and uſeleſs; whereof the further Conſequence is, that the ordinary Exportation of Money muſt inevitably *depopulate* a Nation, if it be of any great extent of Territory; ſo muſt the Exportation of Bullion be attended with the ſame miſchiefs for the ſame reaſons: The Exportation of Bullion

does alſo open a way for the Exporting of Coined Treaſure, without any hazards of Seizure, by *melting* down the moſt valuable Coin into Bullion.

But I expect to be told that *Hamburgh* and *Holland*, *&c.* do allow of and uſe the Exportation of Treaſure.

To which I Anſwer, That there is no parallel between ſuch Countries as theſe and *England*; For theſe are little Territories, much conſiſting of Merchants, their Agents, Factors, and Dependents, who live by meer Merchandize, that the reſt of the people being but few (in Compariſon of what are neceſſary to people ſo great and fertile a Nation as *England*) may be ſupported with much fewer and leſſer Manufactures and home Employments; and therefore that the Exporting of Treaſure muſt be leſs dangerous, and perhaps may be the more neceſſary there, becauſe by the fewneſs of people, and conſequential reſtraint of Manufactures, their Merchants may be confined in the bulk and variety of home Commodities to Export.

If it be ſaid that no Nation can be ſo ſtored with home Commodities, as to Anſwer all Forreign Ports and Markets, and therefore that it may be ſometimes neceſſary to Export Treaſure in every trading Nation;

This

This perhaps may be true in ſome degree; But this is another queſtion; and in the mean time it remains that it is moſt profitable to a Nation to Export home Commodities (where it may be done) rather than Money or Bullion, and therefore that the Merchants ought to be reſtrained from it as much as it is poſſible.

Then as to the other queſtion, how far it may be *neceſſary* in a Nation to Export Money in Trade, It muſt depend upon the greater or leſſer Improvement of the National Trade.

For as a Nation hath a more univerſal Manufacture and Fiſhery, more Drinks, Fruits, Curioſities, and Delicacies of its own, its Merchants will be more and more enabled to Fraight themſelves outwards with home Commodities; Theſe mighty Stores of home Commodities can only be had in great fertile and populous Nations.

But ſuppoſe a Nation be not, or cannot be ſo fully ſtored with home Commodities as to Anſwer all Forreign Markets, yet its Merchants firſt Exporting home Commodities to Ports where they are Vendible, may by a Barter, Sale, or Exchange of theſe, and an eternal Succeſſion of Voyages and Contracts make the Nation where they

they live a *Storehouſe* to Perfection; and will then have the choice of all Merchandizes on the Earth to Export; and therefore may ordinarily and beneficially Trade to any Forreign Port without exporting Treaſure; And if they may, they will, becauſe elſe they will looſe the benefit of the Market for the goods they may Export; Thus even the *Dutch* originally Exporting Herring, Cod, Earthen Wares, Woollen Cloth, Linnen, and of late Silks, and other home Commodities, and having by the Barter or Sale of theſe compleated their home Storehouſe, can ordinarily buy at Foreign Markets, without Exporting Treaſure; By this means are the *Dutch* enabled to Trade as they do to *Swedeland*, *Liefeland*, and *Norway*, where by ſelling or bartering of their own and Forreign Commodities, they provide themſelves with the materials of Pitch, Tar, Hemp and Flax, neceſſary for Navigation, and with Timber, and other Commodities, for their uſe at Home, and Trade abroad, whilſt the ſame Commodities coſt the *Engliſh* ſome 100000 *l. per annum*, ſince the decay of our Cloth-Trade into thoſe Ports; which kind of Trade is doubtleſs advantagious to ſome Merchants (elſe they would not continue it;) But does help to drain the Nation of its Treaſure.

I do

I do not ſay they *Dutch* never Export Treaſure, but that by reaſon of their Forreign Storehouſe they are under no ſuch ordinary neceſſity to do it; and in fact Export little or none to many other Countries, where the *Engliſh* Trade with much: whereof I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more.

I ſhall conclude, that where the Home and Forreign Trade of a great and populous Nation is duly Regulated, and ſufficiently Improved, there will be little neceſſity to *Export Treaſure.*

To which I ſhall add, That the Exporting of Treaſure in a Nation, having all methods of Trade, muſt be yet more dangerous, becauſe it facilitates *meer Importation*, and in *England* is chiefly ſerviceable to it, as will appear.

If a Trade from Port to Port be Improved to any great degree, it muſt neceſſarily very much increaſe the National Treaſure, and numbers of people, eſpecially *Sea-men.*

If 20000 Trading Veſſels add 300 *l. per annum* a piece to the National Stock yearly, the yearly National Gain muſt amount to 6000000 *l. per annum*, and ſo in any greater or leſſer proportion, as the Navigation or Gain is greater or leſs; of which

which we have a plain Example in the *Dutch*, who in about Ninety years time have arrived to a wonderful Wealth and Strength by it, though they have been always forced to buy much of their Victuals and Materials of Clothing, all their Materials of Shipping, and many other chargeable Neceſſaries from Forreigners, which muſt be a prodigious Annual Expence.

A Fiſhing-Trade is one great and certain *Nurſery of Sea-men*, and brings Wealth and Comfort to *Sea-Towns*; But a Flouriſhing Trade from Port to Port will make better and more Sea-men, inrich Sea-Towns more, and will Imploy very conſiderable numbers of people at Land, in Building, Manufacturing, Repairing; and other ordering of the Shipping, Tackle, and Goods Imported and Exported, beſides the Merchants and their more immediate Dependants; Thus do we ſee the Towns upon our oppoſite Shores abound in Riches and People, whilſt our own Sea-Towns languiſh more and more.

And from hence it may appear, that for the utmoſt advance of this Trade, it is neceſſary there ſhould be very much Shipping in a Nation, multitudes of Sea-men, great Stocks continually imployed in Merchandize,

chandize, great numbers of Merchants, and laſtly ſafe Ports and Harbours.

I ſhall end this with ſome retroſpect to the laſt Section, by obſerving, that no Nation in the World is naturally ſo adapted for a mighty Trade of all ſorts as *England.*

Firſt, Becauſe it hath more excellent *Native Commodities* than any one Nation in the World, as Copper, Lead, Iron, Tin, Allome, Copperas, Saffron, Fell, the mighty Commodity of Wooll, Corn, convertible into Beer, and Tranſportable, beſides near 100 others, which are capable of near 1000 ſorts of Manufactures, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* obſerves.

That it is one of the moſt *Fertile* of Kingdoms, and therefore out of its own Stores might ſupport almoſt infinite numbers of people both for Manufactures at home, and Trade abroad, eſpecially as the Iſland might be improved.

That it hath more and ſafer *Ports* and Harbours than almoſt all the Nations in *Europe* put together.

That it is *better ſituated* for the Northern, Eaſtern, Southern and Weſtern Trades than any other Nation.

That the *Herring and Cod*, with which the *Dutch* drive ſo mighty a Trade, are caught

caught in our *Engliſh* Seas, upon our own Coaſts and Shores, and may be managed with more eaſe and advantage by the *Engliſh*, than by any other Nation.

And to conclude, That our *People* are ſtrong and able for Work at Home, generous and adventurous abroad, and ſuch as all the reſt of the World *have* moſt coveted to commerce with, and naturally as ingenious, induſtrious, and willing to labour as any part of Mankind, ſo long as they can have a reaſonable fruit of their Labours, which hath been evidenced by many former undeniable Experiences.

Notwithſtanding all which Advantages, *England* hath had very few conſiderable Manufactures, ſome of which are loſt, and the reſt decaying; nor have we any conſiderable remaining Trade from Port to Port, or Fiſhing-Trade, of which there are doubtleſs ſome Reaſons and Cauſes very fit to be underſtood and regulated, ſince the *Wealth, Strength, Happineſs and Safety of England* immediately depend upon it; I ſhall therefore in the three next enſuing Sections give an Account of ſuch particular *Obſtructions in our Trade*, as have fallen under my notice.

SECT.

SECT. V.

That our Home and Forreign Market is Incumbred, and prejudiced by extraordinary and unequal Charges, and Cloggs in our Merchandize above what are in our Neighbour-Nations, viz. *In the building and furniture of our Ships, Victuals, Sea-mens Wages, Customs, Interest-Money, &c. with the Consequences in our Manufactures and Forreign Trade; more particularly of the decay of our Woollen Manufacture: our Exportations now confined to our Importations and Imported Treasure, how to be enlarged, our casual dependence on the Trade of* Spain.

SUppoſing this or any other Nation had all the aforeſaid Grounds of Trade, *viz.* All ſorts of Home and Forreign Materials of Manufacture, ſufficient numbers of People, and thoſe inſtructed in Manufacture, ſuppoſing them never ſo induſtrious, that there were no want of Ships, Sea-men, or Stocks of Money, Ports or Plenties at home, yet there is another thing neceſſary, which is a *good and quick Vent and Market* for Commodities; without which all Manufactures will decay and expire, all other Exportations muſt fail, and the Trade from

from Port to Port can be no longer practicable or valuable.

For if the Manufacturer cannot ſell his Manufacture, he hath laboured to his great loſs; ſo if a Merchant buy Goods at one Forreign Port which he cannot ſell at another Forreign Port, he hath at leaſt loſt his Voyage and the Charge of it; ſo if the Market be not abſolutely cloſed up, yet if it be prejudiced and ſpoiled to any great degree, the Merchant or Manufacturer will either diſcontinue preſently, or will Trade leſs and leſs, and will fling up ſpeedily if the Market doth not mend; for if men of Trade cannot ſell for reaſonable profit, but will be forced to live much worſe and poorer than other men of the like degree and eſtate in the ſame Nation, they will not continue long in ſo unprofitable a Toil.

The *Home* and *Forreign Market* bear ſuch a Simpathy one with the other, that Obſtructions in the Market at home, may ariſe from Obſtructions in the Forreign Market, as well as immediately from Cauſes at home.

For if the Forreign Market for Exportable Commodities fail in any degree, there muſt be a leſs and worſe Vent and Market at home for theſe Commodities; if the Forreign Market come to take off a *leſſer quantity* yearly

yearly than before, or at a *leſſer price*, the Natives muſt ſell a leſſer quantity, and at a leſſer price, to their Exporters and Merchants, who will not buy more than they can Vend again, nor ſo dear that they cannot vend them with ſufficient profit.

Now the courſe of our *Engliſh* Forreign Merchandize hath begotten an Obſtruction in the Forreign Market, becauſe our Merchants are liable to *greater Charges* in their way of Trade than the Merchants of our Neighbour Nations.

For all neceſſary Charge of the Merchant in his courſe of Trade is ſuper-added to the Original Coſt of his Commodity, ſo that the Merchant, upon ſale of the Commodity Exported, is under an Obligation to pay himſelf his Charge, and yet to ſell ſo, that he may make himſelf a reaſonable gainer beſides.

Then if a Forreign Merchant bring the ſame Manufacture or Commodity to the ſame Forreign Port with leſs charge, he will be able to under-ſell the *Engliſh*-Merchant as much as his charge is leſs, and yet ſhall get reaſonable profit.

And if the Merchants of other Nations be able to ſell for leſs, they will, nay perhaps muſt, (ſuppoſing that they drive an open Trade, and upon their diſtinct Stock) for then being incapable of *combining* to Impoſe prizes,

and desiring a quick Market (which is the life of Trade,) they will be worked down by the Forreign Buyers to take as moderate profit for their Goods as they can afford them at.

The Consequence of this is, that the *English* Merchant must either forbear Exporting, or else must sink his prizes on the *English* Manufacturers, whereby the *English* Manufacture must be stifled or discouraged.

'Tis true, That if a Nation hath some rich and necessary Material and Manufacture within it self, exclusive to other Nations, it hath the *Monopoly* of this Manufacture to the rest of the World, and therefore cannot be under-sold, but may vend it so as to pay all extraordinary Charges with sufficient gain to the Manufacturer and Merchant; which was heretofore the Case of *England* in the *Woollen Manufacture.*

But if a Manufacture or Commodity be common to *England* and *Holland*, or *England* and *France*, and the *Hollanders* or *French* can bring this Manufacture or Commodity cheaper to a third Forreign Port than the *English*, the *Hollanders* or *French* under-selling the *English*, will beat the *English* out of the Manufacture; It is accompted that the odds of two *per cent.* nay of one *per cent.* will produce this advantage.

An inequality of Charge on Merchandize must

uſt alſo influence the Trade from Port to ort; For if the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchant oming to the ſame Port with the ſame For- eign Commodity, the *Dutch* can ordinarily nder-ſell the *Engliſh*; it muſt alſo be of the me Conſequence in this ſort of Trade.

This happens to be the Caſe between the *ngliſh* and *Dutch*, the *Dutch* being upon their efection from *Spain*, driven into great Exi- encies, and therefore becoming ſtudious and nulous how to advance their Trade, have ntrived all imaginable ways how to *Trade eap*, whoſe Example other Neighbouring- ates and Kingdoms have followed in a great gree, and the *French* amongſt the reſt, hilſt the *Engliſh* do not only proceed in eir former more chargeable methods of rade, but have clogged their Navigation d Merchants more and more, whereof I all give ſome Inſtances, and ſhall leave the mputation of the odds to the Reader.

Firſt, The *Dutch* have found and long uſed ch a way of *building* their ordinary Trading *ips* and *Veſſels*, that they will ſail with eight ten men, when an *Engliſh* built Ship of out the ſame Burthen ſhall not ſail without ar thirty men, ſo that the *Engliſh* Merchant uſt ordinarily be at more Charge for *Wages* d *Victuals* by two Thirds than the *Dutch*.

Secondly, The *Engliſh Cuſtoms* for Forreign

Goods Imported and Re-exported (thou half the Customs paid are returned upon R exportation) are near twenty times great than the *Dutch* Customs, and for home Co modities Exported, if not for all, are grea than the *Dutch* or *French* Customs, which do work a further Charge on the *English* M chants. For,

Thirdly, By this means our *English* M chants are ordinarily forced to keep nea fourth part of their Stocks dead at home answer Customs, so that a *Dutch* Merchant m drive the same Trade with a much less Stock

Fourthly, The late *Act of Navigation*, a the Act of 14 *Car.* 2. *Cap.* 11. confining t *English* Trade to Shipping built with *Engl Timber* (which is now exceeding scarce a dear.) The *Dutch*, *French*, *Danes*, *Ha burghers*, *&c.* can have Ship-Timber in G *many*, *France* and *Denmark*, for less than h the price of ours. So by means of the sa Acts of Navigation, have the *Dutch* a *French* their Cordage, Masts, Sails, Tack Pitch and Tar, (being all necessary and char able Ingredients of Navigation) very mu cheaper than the *English*, so that the *Holl ders*, or *French*, or *Danes*, nay, almost a other of our Neighbours, can build and a parel a Ship, or fit up and repair, at a l charge by half than the *English* can do; t reaso

ſon of this is more at large Diſcourſed by
. *Roger Cooke* in his late Ingenious Treatiſes
Trade.

And Fifthly, By means of the late *Iriſh Acts*
ainſt Importation of
ttel, the *Dutch* and
ench can and do
ctual their Ships cheaper with *Iriſh* Victuals
an the *Engliſh* can do in *England*, whereas
fore, *England* could Victual cheaper than any
tion in *Europe.* 18 Car. 2. Cap. 2. & 20 Car. 2. Cap.

Sixthly, The *Engliſh* pay *6 per Cent. Intereſt*
Money, and the
tch but 3 *per Cent.*
leſs, which is to our
gliſh Merchants of a ſtrange ill Conſe-
ence, if we conſider our extraordinary
arges in Victuals, Wages, Shipping, and the
ney kept dead to anſwer Cuſtoms, beſides
e Intereſt of the Stock actually imployed in
erchandize and Wars; for the Intereſt, with
tereſt upon Intereſt running up continually,
es ſtill increaſe the Charge and Clogg upon
r Merchants, but eſpecially muſt diſable us
make *England* a Storehouſe of Forreign
oods, ſince although they ſhould be bought
d Imported as cheap as in *Holland*, they
uſt yet become dearer for Re-exportation
the odds in the Intereſt; if the Annual
tereſt *per Cent.* were the ſame, yet the odds Note, no Intereſt is allowed in *France.*

in the Stock imployed would produce a va
odds in the Intereſt.

Seventhly, The Act of Navigation obligin
us to ſail with ¼ of our *Engliſh Sea-men* (o
which we have but a few in Compariſon o
the *Dutch*, who have at leaſt ten times mor
than we) hath given occaſion to our Sea-me
to raiſe their Wages: To all which may b
added our preſent Charge of Paſſes, ſuppo
ſing that any Forreign Nation can Trade with
out *Paſſes*, or procure them for leſs money
the like may be ſaid of our late Charge o
Ballaſtage, *&c.*

Nay the *Dutch* are ſo curious, that for mor
cheapneſs and convenience, they build Ship
of *divers makes*, *ſorts of Timber*, *and manne*
of Tackling, for almoſt every Trade: where
the *Engliſh* build or uſe but one ſort, and tha
the moſt chargeable.

Suppoſe then, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutc*
ſhould both Manufacture Silk, Linnen, Wool
len, &c. and that an *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Mer
chant buying up theſe *Manufactures* at th
ſame Rate at Home, ſhould Export them to
third Port where they are Vendible, 'tis plai
that the *Dutch* Merchant being at leſs charg
by at leaſt two thirds for Wages and Victu
als, at leſs charge for Cuſtoms or Port-Duties
at a leſs charge by half in building and fittin
up his Ship, and being ſo much eaſed in th
Intereſt

terest of money, and other the said particu-rs', may under-sell the *English* Merchant a eat many times 2 *per Cent.*

But much more will he be able to under-sell e *English* Merchant in the Trade from *Port Port*, because of the ceſſive height of our uſtoms for Goods Im-orted and Re-export-d, or if an *English* Mer-hant go directly from ne Port to another, he ill ſtill lie under the ther in-equalities of harge.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in his time, obſerves, That if an *English* and *Holland* Ship of 200 Tun a piece be at *Dantzick*, the *Hollander* ſhould ſerve the Merchant cheaper by 100 *l.* than the *English*, being ſailed with nine or ten Mariners, but ours with thirty, yet our *English* Carpenters keep their old way of building to this day, and know no other.

Nor are the *English* or the ſame Reaſon capable of any Imploy-ent in *meer Carriage* for any Forreigners, nleſs, perhaps, during the Convulſions of a ar amongſt other Nations.

And for the ſame Reaſons the *English* can ever drive any conſiderable *Fiſhing-Trade*, ough we pay no Cuſtom for Fiſh.

This cheapneſs of the *Dutch*, and other orreign Navigation and Trading, doth not nly give advantage and preference to their wn Manufactures, but to the Manufactures f all other Nations where there is an open, ee and reaſonable Market; as ſuppoſe the *Dutch* buy *French*, *German*, or *Italian* Manu-

factures as cheap as the *Engliſh* Merchant can buy the like Manufactures in *England*, he may be able to under-ſell the *Engliſh* Merchant and Manufacture in a third Port, with gain to himſelf.

And hence it is that the *Dutch*, and other Forreign *cheap* Navigation, hath given riſe and growth to the *French*, *Dutch*, *German*, *Italian*, and other Forreign Manufactures; which, with the difficulties on our Trade at home, hath worked us out of near all our Manufactures, except what remains to us of our Cloathing-Trade.

So the cheapneſs of the *Dutch*, and other Forreign Navigation and Trading, hath in a manner beaten us out of all the Trade from Port to Port, and Fiſhing-Trade; the *Engliſh* retaining little from Port to Port, but the *Eaſt-India Trade*, for Callicoes, Pepper, &c. a Trade which continues upon a particular reaſon, diſtinct from all the reſt, as I ſhall alſo ſhew in the next Section.

And upon the former Reaſons, and others mentioned in this and the two next Sections, we muſt expect that the *Dutch* and *French* may in a ſhort time deſtroy our remaining *Woollen Manufacture*; the *Dutch* taking advantage of our miſ-management of our Cloth-Trade, of which I ſhall give a further account, found ways of getting our fine Wooll, which

mixing

mixing with fine *Spaniſh*, and by that mixture making a cheaper and more ſerviceable fine Cloth than with all *Spaniſh*, have been long high Competitors in the Trade of fine Cloth, and have actually beaten us out in the *Northern Eaſtland and German Trades*, and ſhare with us in the *Turky-Trade*, both *Dutch* and *French* getting what quantities they pleaſe of our long and middling-Wooll out of *England* and *Ireland* (which they now have cheaper than the *Engliſh* Clothiers from *Ireland*) do mix it with *French*, *Polonia*, or other Forreign Woolls, (which are two thirds cheaper than ours) and therewith make vaſt quantities of courſe Cloths, Druggets and Stuffs, which being acceptable and Merchandizable, they Export to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Germany*, and moſt other Parts.

Their *Competition* in the Cloathing-Trade, joined with ſome *Polonian*, *Sileſian*, *German*, and other later Manufactures of courſe Woolls, have already ſunk our Forreign *Market* and Vent; this hath ſunk the *price* of our raw Wooll, as neceſſarily it muſt, and as their Manufactures increaſe, and ours does expire, the *French* and *Dutch* muſt have our Wooll for what they pleaſe; and if they cannot have it at their own Rate at one of our Ports, they will go to another, and our neceſſitous People having their Wooll in their hands, will

will ſell almoſt at any Rate; which is ſo far the Caſe in *Ireland* already, that is there openly Exported at 6 or 7 *s.* the Tod; and then if we compute what a Tod of Wooll may ſtand the *French* or *Dutch* in, conſidering their cheap mixtures of *French*, *Poloniſh*, and other courſe Woolls, we may very ſuddenly expect to have our *Engliſh* Woolls at about 4 *s.* the Tod; for if the *Engliſh* Clothier gives more for his *Materials* than the *French* or *Dutch*, he cannot live: It is now in moſt parts of *England* at about 12 *s.* or 13 *s.* the Tod, in ſome places at 10 *s.* where of late years it was 30 and 40 *s.* the Tod.

The *French* and *Dutch* have long maligned this *Engliſh* Manufacture, and have now made a mighty progreſs towards its extirpation, and therein of the great ſupport of our *Engliſh* Nation; (doubtleſs the Wooll-Sacks were placed in our Houſe of Parliament to give us a precaution of it:) The *Dutch* of late have been ſomewhat checked in the *Turky-Trade* by the War; but the *French* are more vigilant and vigorous in the increaſe and vent of their Woollen Manufacture than ever; and the *Dutch are now at Peace again.*

I know ſome alledge, that theſe Nations may ſupport their preſent Woollen Manufacture without our Wooll, which our own *Engliſh Clothiers*, on their own experience, deny;

deny; They ſay that a mixture of fine *Engliſh*, and fine *Spaniſh*, makes Cloth ſo much cheaper and more ſerviceable than of all fine *Spaniſh*, That it muſt needs beat out any Forreign Manufacture made of all fine *Spaniſh*, (which is always near twice as dear as our fineſt *Engliſh* Wooll) and therefore have the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* near ſubverted the *Venetian* Cloth-Trade in *Turkey*; On the other ſide, They ſay that the *German*, *Polonia*, *Sileſian*, and *French*, are ſo courſe of themſelves, that although they may be wrought into an ill ſort of Compoſition, perhaps fit for Sails, or ſuch like; yet it is not *Merchandizable*; but in mixture with *Engliſh* or *Iriſh*; good dreſſing and dying will make very vendible and ſerviceable Stuffs, Druggets, and courſe Cloths.

Nor is there any ſhadow of reaſon to believe otherwiſe, conſidering how Ravenous the *French* and *Dutch* have been after our Wooll, ſince they ſet up their Woollen Manufactures; why have they and their Agents been lurking on our Coaſts and in our Creeks to filch it away for ſo many years? why have they given *treble* as much for it as for *Polonia* or *French*? ſhall we think the *Dutch* and *French* ſuch Fools and mad-men as to make ſo *laborious* and *dear* a Purchaſe of an unneceſſary Commodity? We are told of ſome fine *Sclavonian* Woolls which the *Dutch* make uſe of, but withall that they are not comparable to ours; nor of any conſide-

rable

rable *bulk*; and are assured by those who should best understand it, that no Nation but *England* hath a sufficient store of Wooll to drive a Forreign Trade of any Consequence.

There is no question, but that if we did manufacture all our Wooll, we might again near Monopolize the Merchandize and Forreign Trade of Woollen-Cloathing, though perhaps some Forreign Manufactures of course Woolls might be kept up for the use of the ordinary poorer people at Home; at least it must be admitted, that if we did manufacture all our *English* and *Irish Wooll*, it would find vent in the World, since it is now all manufactured in *England*, *France* and *Holland*, and doth find vent in the aforesaid *mixtures*; by which the bulk of the Manufacture must be much increased.

Then if the question be how we shall arrive to the sole Manufacture of our own *English* and *Irish* Wooll, it must appear upon what hath been said, that the only safe Expedient must be by *easing* our Navigation and Trade equally with Forreigners, in which Case having so much advantage in the Materials, we could not fail of an answerable success in the Manufacture; long Experience hath demonstrated that the *meer prohibiting* of the Exportation of Wooll is but a Cobweb, the *Dutch* and *French* being con-

conſtantly ſupplied with what quantities they pleaſe to have, and ever will be, as long as their advantages in Trade will enable them to give more for our Woolls than our *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Natives: for ſo long the Intereſts of our People will teach them ways to Elude or Baffle the Prohibition; For this reaſon our late Act of 12 *Car.* 2. *Cap.*22. which makes it Felony to Export Wooll, hath nothing remedied the miſchief. Upon what hath been ſaid, I may further add, That thoſe who think to better our Trade in general by the forceable ſubverſion of the *Dutch* Trade and Navigation, are as much miſtaken; ſince the *Hamburgers*, and other Trading States, the *French*, and other Kingdoms, who have eaſed their Merchandize and Navigation, would then take the place of the *Dutch*, and would ſhare the Trade, and exclude the *Engliſh*, unleſs our Trade were equally eaſed.

I ſhall conclude this Section with this farther Obſervation, That for the opening of a ſufficient Forreign Vent and Market for our Home Commodities, whether Manufactures, Fiſh, or others; it is not only neceſſary to remove all unequal cloggs on meer Exportations, but alſo thoſe on Imported Goods; becauſe that whilſt the *Engliſh* Merchant, by the Charges on Imported Goods, is ordinarily diſabled to Trade from Port to Port, the value

value of our *Engliſh* Exportations muſt be in a manner *confined* to the value of the *Goods Imported*, and conſumed at Home, and the Treaſure we Import *in ſpecie* yearly.

Whereas were the cloggs on our Imported Goods taken off, we might yearly vend of our own Home Commodities to the value of all the Forreign Goods we ſhould then Import and Re-export, to ſerve the Occaſions of all other Nations, (for theſe we might purchaſe by Barter or Sale of our own) whereby our Exported Home Commodities would then amount to much more, probably to more than ten times the value they now do yearly; All which in the courſe of Trade from Port to Port would reſolve into more and more Treaſure and Riches of all ſorts.

And therefore, let the Treaſure now Imported *in ſpecie* be more or leſs, 'tis evident, that were our Merchants enabled to Trade from Port to Port, as the *Dutch*, and others, can and do, as our Manufactures, and other Home Commodities, Exported yearly, would be vaſtly more in quantity and value, ſo would the Treaſure Imported yearly.

Secondly, The Exportation of *Engliſh* home Commodity is yet farther confined, when inſtead of home Commodity to anſwer the Imported Goods and Treaſure, we Export ſo much Treaſure as we do; In which Caſe if the

he Treasure Exported be more than is Imported yearly, this Kingdom must insensibly be beggered by meer Trade.

This may be feared to be our Case, because here are very few Forreign Nations (I think none worth the naming but *Spain*) where our Merchants can ordinarily sell our Commodity for ready money, or with so much advantage, that they can afford to return with the price received, but will be obliged to better their Adventures by laying out the money again on Consumptive Forreign Goods, or else apply it to satisfie Forreign Debts by Bills of Exchange; This many of our *Spanish* Traders do, so that our Merchants Import much less Treasure than they receive; and it may not be improper to be added here, that whilst the virtue of our whole Trade (as now managed) does still depend so much on that with *Spain*, our Support is very *single* and *casual*, and the Consequence must be fatal, should the *Spaniard* be rendred either *unable* or *unwilling* to Trade longer with us; our Case is already thus far worse than it was, that *Spain* is grown poor and weak, and the *Dutch* and *French* share and grow upon us in this Trade.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Other Cloggs on our Trade, viz. *The late Acts of Navig tion, which, with the other difficulties have begot Monop lies; made our Navigation yet dearer, so Forreign Ma rials of Manufacture cause meer Importations, hinder Forreign vent of Victuals, obliges a sudden Consumpti of our remaining Ship-Timber, particular dangers a consequences thereof; Our Navigation cannot be increas whilst we are restrained in Trade: The exhausting of Treasure must subvert our Navigation: The advanta of Forreigners, of Trading by Companies, and the diff rent Nature of Ours, more particularly of our* Afric *and* East-India *Companies and Trade: divers ill Cons quences of Joint-Stocks; therein more of Monopoli Long Land Carriages to* London; *the Market there layed. Odds in Interest-Money must prejudice our Man factures: private Interest observed. Our affectation Forreign Commodities: the prejudice of obstructing vent of Manufactures. Our Manufacturers liable to imposed upon by our Merchants, and by Ingrossers, disadvantage by the Restitution of half Customs on Re-exportation.*

IT being natural, That the continuance one inconvenience should beget man others, it hath so fallen out in *England*.

Our Natives discerning the odds of Char between our own and Forreign Navigatio and being therefore tempted to Trade in Fo reign Ships, or to deal with Forreign Importe (which threatned the subversion of our *Engli* Navigation, and the *Importing Trade* of our *E gliſh* Merchants) instead of Regulating our N vigatio

gation, the late Act of Navigation was made, hereby, and by other Acts, our *Engliſh* Exportations are expreſly or virtually confined to our own *Engliſh* built shipping, ſo is the Importation of Forreign Goods, or elſe to the Forreign Natives of whoſe growths or productions they are; which reſtraint hath *begotten*, or (jointly with the other cloggs on our Forreign Merchandize) hath *heightned*, theſe farther Inconveniencies.

12 Car. 2. ca. 18. 13 Car. 2. c. 14. 14 Car. 2. ca. 11. 15 Car. 2. c. 7.

First, It hath given a *Monopoly to our own Merchants*, upon our Manufacturers and People, for our own exportable Manufactures and Commodities.

Secondly, It hath given a *Monopoly to our own Merchants* upon all the people of *England*, for Goods Imported.

Thirdly, The ſaid Act of Navigation obliging the *Engliſh* to buy Imported Goods only at thoſe Ports, or of thoſe Natives, of whoſe growths and productions they are, hath given *Monopolies to all Forreigners* on the *Engliſh* for Goods of their reſpective growths and productions; the *Danes* (for inſtance) taking advantage of it, very much raiſed their Prizes and Cuſtoms upon us, for Pitch, Tar, and Timber, forcing us to pay near double what we did, and to pay them in money, where

See Mr. *Coke's* Third Treatiſe *Of Trade*.

we used to barter with them for Commodity; the like may be said of the *French*, those of the *Canary*-Islands, and others, particularly the *Leifflanders*, for raw Hemp and Flax; at the best we are but at mercy.

Fourthly, This Act hath made our Navigation yet *more chargeable* than before, because the aforesaid Forreign Materials of Pitch, Tar, raw Hemp and Flax are thereby made very much the dearer; It doth also render *English* Ship-Timber still dearer and dearer, which must more and more disable and discourage us in the building of Ships for Trade, and gives a great and dangerous advantage to our Neighbours in the building of *Ships of War* so much cheaper than we.

Fifthly, This dearness of Shipping must the more prejudice the vent of our Manufactures made of our *own Materials*, and disable us in the Trade from Port to Port, for the Reasons in the last Section.

Sixthly, The same *dearness of Shipping, with the other unequal charges on our Forreign Merchandize*, must render all *Forreign materials of Manufacture* imported much dearer in *England* than in other Neighbour-Nations, (such are Hemp, Flax, Silk, and many others of great consequence) and then our Manufacturers buying the Materials dearer, are obliged to sell their Manufactures dearer, which must hinder their vent at home as well as their Exportation abroad,

and

nd consequently the rise and growth of all our anufactures made of Forreign Materials, and ccordingly we see our Manufactures of Linnen, ables, Sails, Sea-Nets, and Silk of all sorts, are me of them in a manner lost, the rest much de-ayed; which I the rather mention, that this, nd what I say elsewhere, may take off some gnorant and unreasonable Reproaches against he *English* Manufacturers, for not selling some anufactures so cheap as in other Nations, since hey are necessitated to it by these and some ther difficulties upon them, which I shall take otice of in this and the next Section, as I shall ave occasion.

Seventhly, This restraint to our dear *English* Navigation, *and Charges on our Merchandize*, oes by Consequence tend to introduce the *Disease of Trade*, consisting in *meer Importation*; or as our Manufactures expire, there is a farther ccasion of Importing Forreign Manufactures, specially if on this, and other Accounts, they ay be sold cheaper here than our own: And ence it is, that we have a prodigious increase f Imported Linnens, Silks, &c. and that we are late forced to buy much more of our Cables, ordage, Sails, and divers other Manufactures rom the *Dutch*, *French*, *Germans*, *&c.* than for-erly we did; in all which our Merchants must e greater gainers *for a time*, because our occasi-ns for Forreign Goods being greater, they Im-ort and sell the more at home; and from more

and greater Sales must get the more money o
our Natives, and the rather, because of thei
Monopoly on the rest of the people for Importe
Goods, which does enable them to sell so
home, as to reimburse themselves all thei
Charges, with extraordinary profit.

Eighthly, The said Restraint excluding grea
numbers of Forreign Ships from our Ports mu
hinder the vending of great proportions of ou
Beef, Pork, Corn, Beer, Clothing, and othe
Necessaries.

Ninthly, The dearness of the *English* Timber
arising from the scarcity of it, the said Act do
oblige us to a kind of impossibility, there being
not Timber enough in *England* to support an
considerable Navigation, at least for any conti
nuance of time; which small remnant of Tim
ber we are forced to spend so fast in th
building or repairing of ordinary Vessels, tha
we shall soon see the end of it, and then in an
great Exigence we must seek out for Forreig
Timber to build Ships of War, for which th
Timber now remaining might be reserved.

Tenthly, Whereas the increase and suppor
of Navigation depends on the ordinary Imploy
ment of Ships and Sea-men in Trade, of which
far the greatest numbers are to be maintaine
in the Fishing-Trade, and Trade from Port to
Port, the *English* being, by the Acts of Navigation
and *other difficulties*, disabled from those Trades
can never increase their Navigation, and upon

a small

a ſmall increaſe of Shipping muſt be *over-clogg'd*.

Eleventhly, The Act of Navigation giving *Forreigners election* either to ſell their Goods to the *Engliſh* at home, or to Import them into *England*, is ſo far from incouraging our Navigation, that it hath put it into the choice of Forreigners, whether theirs or our Shipping ſhall be imployed, which, with the dearneſs of ours, hath already increaſed the Navigation of our Neighbours, but hath reduced ours.

See Mr. *Cole*'s Treatiſes *of Trade*, this largely and moſt rationally diſcourſed.

And laſtly, As the dearneſs of our Navigation and courſe of Merchandize eſtabliſhed by this Act does run us into an *Exceſs of Importations*, our Treaſures muſt be exhauſted, and then the remnant of our Shipping muſt be becalmed, and our Sea-men will leave us, as they already do, which I ſhall more particularly obſerve in the following Sections.

In the mean time it muſt be apparent, that if we had diſpoſed our ſelves to a cheaper way of building and ſailing, our Trading-Ships (being as practicable here as in *Holland*) and had raiſed our Merchandize and Trade to an equal degree, theſe, and all other the aforeſaid Miſchiefs, had been prevented, and we might have ſupported a more ſwelling and beneficial Navigation than that of the *United Provinces*; who are ſo far from making uſe of any Expedient of this Nature, that they allow *Free Commerce*

merce to all Forreigners, and their Ships; nor can the like Expedient be found in any Nation on the Earth, who have or aspire to a great Navigation or Trade; 'Tis confessed the like Act was made by the *Rump*, but 'twas on the occasion of their *Dutch War*, and intended (as 'tis said) to exclude the *Dutch* from the benefit of our Trade and Ports; however it were, we are not to learn the *Rump* might be mistaken in their Calculations.

If the people of a Nation have free Liberty to sell at home to all Merchants, they must necessarily have the utmost choice of Chapmen for Manufactures and home Commodities, and by consequence the *best and utmost Market and Vent* as far as the Stocks, Treasures, Industry, Navigations and Occasions of the *World* will bear, and it is known that the most *thrifty* Merchants, and *near Livers*, and those that Trade most *universally*, and with the *greatest Stocks*, and *cheapest*, are ordinarily able to buy deerest, and sell cheapest; and if our Natives were un-confined, they would have Liberty to deal with any Forreigners on the Earth thus qualified; But our Natives being restrained to our own Merchants, and their own National Stock in Merchandize; let the particular Stocks of our Merchants be never so *small*, let them Trade never so *dear*, or so *little*, let them live never so *high and costly*, yet our Natives Manufactures and others must *pay for all*, by selling cheaper to

our

our Merchants, and buying of them dearer; for he Merchants are in a capacity to buy so and ell so at home, as to satisfie themselves, and maintain the Equipage they live in, with much overplus.

But our *Clothiers*, and some others, have complained, that they are yet farther confined in their *choice* of Chapmen, since the *English* Merchants are confined to the *Trading Companies* and their stocks; which does first give me occasion to consider the *Constitutions* of our *English* Forreign Trading-Companies, and of what *consequence* they are in Trade.

This I shall do (as I think it will appear) without any partiality, protesting that I bear no malice or personal ill will against any Company, or Member of any Company in *England*, but on the contrary, have an high esteem for as many of these and other Merchants as I am acquainted with, having found them very worthy men, and such as much desire the general Good, and therefore hope they will close with the Common Interest in what relates to themselves.

Particular men have too long flattered themselves with a corrupt opinion, that they may gain by the common loss, and that it will *hold out their times*, which I do not say with any particular Reflection on these, or any other Traders; being the ordinary *maxim* or *prudential* of our *cunning men* of all kinds.

Of the first and more ancient sort are our *Regu-*

Regulated Companies, or such as are so called, such as are the *Turky*, *Hamburgh*, *Muscovy*, and *Eastland* Companies, whose Incorporations have been always accompted *Legal*, being *intended* for the better Regulation of some particular Forreign Trades, and for the raising and support of Common Charges, and for those purposes are enabled to *act by Committees*.

The Members of these Companies trading on their *distinct stocks*, seem to leave the same choice of Chapmen to our Manufacturers, wherefore I cannot observe but that such Companies might consist with a Flourishing Trade, if according to their Appellations they be *really Regulated*, (that is) provided all *English*-men (according to their Right) be left at liberty *to become Members* and Trade, upon Terms that are not *oppressive*. Secondly, That these Companies be not permitted to make such *By-Laws* for their private ends as may prove advantagious to the Members of the Company, but prejudicial to the Nation; a thing very practicable, as suppose they should prolong their times of buying our home Commodities, or confine the Market to some such particular *places* at home as may be convenient for themselves, but injurious to our Manufacturers, or other Natives, or should Trade to few Ports where they can have extraordinary Rates and Terms, when they might Trade to more, and consequently vend more Commodity; or should endeavour to set the Dice on

Forreigner

foreigners, by Arbitrary prizes or otherwise, whereby Forreigners may be disaffected with our Commerce; experience hath shown that private interest hath carryed some of them into such or the like irregularities, it would be too long to instance in particulars, I shall only say, that those of the last sort made Forreigners the more Impatient till they had set up their woollen Manufactures.

Our *East-India* and *African Companies* are of another kind, and of a latter creation, having gotten *Pattents* of the Sole Trade of great part of the World *exclusive* to the rest of his Majesties Subjects, which they manage upon *Foynt-stocks*; of which I shall shew the generall ordinary consequences, and then examine how far they are applicable to the particular Cases of these Companies.

The present *East-India* Pattent granted 13 *July* 1660. That to the *African* Company since.

First, in the *nature* of such Companies they must be as injurious as may be to all home-manufactures made of our own materialls, and the vent of our other exports, because by trading on a *Foynt-stock* they make but *one buy*; and therefore have a *Monopoly* for all exportable goods proper *only* for the Forreign Nations within their pattents, and must contract the choice of Chapmen *for all other goods* proper for these and other Countrys; now

the confining of the Market and choice of Chapmen in any degree is dangerous and prejudiciall to Trade, and in a larger ſence may be called a Monopoly, but it is far more miſchievous when the Election is totally loſt, for then thoſe who have the Monopoly *may*, and therefore *will*, buy at their own prizes.

Secondly, for the ſame reaſon they muſt be yet more injurious to home-Manufacture made of forreign materialls; for firſt, they will ſell the materialls as *dear*, and then buy the Manufacture as *cheap as they pleaſe*; which muſt ſubvert any Manufacture in a trice, eſpecially if made of forreign materials bought cheaper by forreign Manufacturers; ſuppoſe then the *Eaſt-India Company* by their Commodity of Money, ſhould ſo far divert the market as to beat out the *Turky Company* in the trade of *Raw-Silks*, at what rates would our *Silk-weavers* buy raw-ſilks? or will it be ſaid a Company on a Joynt-ſtock, will ſo much value the National intereſt as to ſell as low as the Commodity is ſold for in other Nations? or if it will be ſaid, who will believe it? was ever any ſuch thing done either by the Engliſh, Dutch, or *Eaſt-India Companies*? did they ever yet endeavour to beat out one another in trade by low ſelling? No, this is never the effect of choice; were a third *Eaſt-India* Company in *France* on a Joynt-ſtock, they

would

ould hold up the prizes; the advantage got
a Nation by underselling is the effect of ne-
ssity, or high convenience; when the Sel-
rs being infinite, some of them are ready,
nd all long for dispatch and a new adven-
ure, whereby they work down one another
as low a prize as the Commodity can be af-
orded at; of all which we have an undenya-
le example in the present *African Company*,
ho were no sooner Constituted, but they
aised the price of imported *red-wood*, which
efore was sold at 26. and 28*l. per* Tun, to
0*l. per* Tun, which must make our exported
yed Cloaths of all sorts so much the dearer;
nd being an intolerable rate, put our Dyers
pon finding out the use of *Saunders*, which
hey still continue; and as a farther confirma-
on of this, and what I said before, I shall
dd, that after the Election of this Company,
l goods proper for that Trade only sunk at
ast 15*l. per Cent.* nor would the 10*th.* part of
he same goods be vended to the said Compa-
y as there was before, to our Merchants dri-
ing an *open Trade*.

Thirdly, For the same reason such a Com-
any must be as injurious to the Trade from
ort to port; For having also a Monopoly in
elling, they may and will impose Arbitrary
rizes on the buyers, and then the Merchants
r Re-exporters who buy goods so dear, must

be undersold by any other Nation which drives a *free and open Trade* to the same place from whence they are Imported; this is self-evident, and therefore I should not instance in Fact, but that I have it on good Authority; that even in the *East-India* Trade, which is *Alledged* to be out of the common Rules of Trade, whilst the Trade was open, *viz.* In the Years 54, 55, and 56. our Merchants sold the *Indian* Commodities so low, that they furnished more parts of *Europe* then since we have done, nay, *Holland* and *Amsterdam* it self; and that this very much sunk the Actions of the *Dutch East-India Company*: a thing which stands with reason; and which therefore recommends an *open Trade* to India, *if it may be so driven with long continuance*, whereof I shall farther consider.

Fourthly, These Companies having also *Monopolies on these Forreign Natives* with whom they Trade, may set Arbitrary prizes upon them, for our home-Manufactures exported; and will get more, by selling a little very dear, then by selling much more at moderate profit: and though the Joynt-stock imployed *be not sufficient* to manage the Trade anything near the full advantage, yet those interested in it, will have reason to be satisfyed with the returns they make, since in proportion to the Stock, they may be very great

great; and for the ſame reaſon, may be well contented to Trade to a *few Ports* where they can have *great rates*.

5*ly*, The induſtry, courage and ingenuity of all the reſt of the Natives (by which as much as by ſtock all Trade is improved) are ſhut out, which muſt not only be a prejudice to the Trade in general, but is a hardſhip put on the reſt, *who by their birth-rights are equally intituled to all Trade*; upon all which accompts, the *Legality* of ſole importing, ſole buying, and ſole vending, hath been formerly brought in queſtion, and denyed in our greateſt Judicatures; and ſhould it be generally admitted, by the ſame reaſon, the reſt of our Forreign Trade might be incloſed to two or three more Companys, and then we ſhould have but three or four Chapmen or Shops for all Exported and Imported Commodities; nay the whole might be granted or reſerved to *one Company*, or *one man*: in any of which Caſes what would become of *property*? Such is the Caſe of *the general body* of our *Merchants* already, that having in a manner loſt the *Eaſtland* and *Northern* Trades, they are ſhut out of the *African*, *Indian*, and *Perſian*, *Chineſe*, and other mighty Trades within thoſe *Patents*: ſince this out of the *French* trade, and therefore are thronged

Stat. 21. *Jacob.* 3. 12. *Hen.* 7. cap. 6th. 3. *Jac.* cap. 6th.

into the *streights*, and other narrow remnants; and yet is this the usual preferment of most of the younger Sons of the *Gentry of England*.

sixthly, Though our other Merchants on their single accompts export much treasure, yet cannot it so easily be done, or not in so great Quality, as by such a Company; whose Joint stock having a great credit, can take up as much ready money as they want; whereas those who will not trust a single trader with a 100*l.* in *mony* will trust him with 500*l.* worth of Commodity, as common exerience shews; and 'tis affirmed, that during our trade in 54 and 55. we exported more Commodities, *viz.* cloth, & other things, then since we have done.

To this is Objected, that the *East-India* trade so far differs from others, that it cannot be supported, *or not with so much advantage and security, (which I admit to be all one)* without a Joint stock, which if true, there is no doubt but it ought to be so managed. This then is one great Question, in the mean time I hear nothing of this so much as alledged for the *African* Company: the reasons given, depend upon pretended *Facts* in *India*, *viz.* the necessity of great common charges in gratifying and corresponding with the *Indian Princes* and keeping *Forts and Forces* for the defence of our Factories there, which they say could never be supported but out of a Joint stock Trade.

To which others answer, 1*st*. that it may be true, great common charges are necessary, *& such greater then our Company are at*, but that *common charges* may be rais'd by a *regulated Company* on *Goods* imploy'd in Trade, or on other parts of the Traders Estates, if the Company be Impower'd to make Levies, which is no more then every Parish are enabled to do for Church-Poor and other things: and that 'tis the same thing for a man to be assubjected to Levies out of that part of his distinct stock which is not in trade, as 'tis to make good any publick charge or loss out of his Joint-stock.

Or Secondly, they say, that if this Trade be taken into the protection of the *Government*, it will have the Joint stock of the *Kingdom* to secure it, the same by which we are all secured: they offer what we were able to do in our open Trade in 1654. 55. and 56. But as a demonstration, urge the example of the *Portuguese*, who in an open Trade (I do not mean in an *Anarchy* nor without *conduct* and *order*) made near or full as great a progress in this Trade as the *Dutch*, whilest their Government gave sufficient assistance, which they say, also answers what hath been objected from the *supposed disorder of our Trade in those parts, should it be open, and the capacity the Natives would be then in, of setting the dice upon the English*: and as a further answer to this they

ſay, the ſame thing may be objected againſt all other open Trade in the World.

But then thoſe for our Company, object the Example of the *Dutch*, who being a Nation ſo wiſe in Trade, ſucceſsfully manage the *East-India* Trade by a Company on a Joint ſtock; which being matter of fact, is beyond all the Argument in the World.

To which is anſwered, that this Example proves that a Company in a Joint ſtock may make a great progreſs in it, but does not diſprove the like, or a greater progreſs under a regulated or open Trade.

2ly. That on the firſt cuſtom of this Company, and ever ſince, the *Dutch* had moſt of the Trade from Port to Port, and carriage throughout the reſt of the World; and therefore might with leſs diſadvantage to the reſt of the Dutch Merchants inbloſe this to a Company.

3ly, That that Company was occaſioned by the diſtinct Bands or voluntary Aſſociations of Merchants in the ſeveral Provinces, who firſt undertook this Trade, which being ſoon after the Union, and the Provinces having Originally ſeperate rights, the ſaid Aſſociations had not ſo good a correſpondence as was neceſſary, which could never fall

See the preſent ſtate of the low Countrys, Printed in 69. Written by *M. A.* Fellow of the Royal Society, p. 154. 167. 169.

fall out under a regulated Company of one Nation.

4*ly*, That the constitution of this Company being intended for a present Reconciliation of these interests, was Originally but for 21. Years, and was afterwards continued, because the Company growing so rich and powerfull both abroad and at home, the Members were generally *chosen States*, and therefore above any attacque at home from the rest. See *Mandelsloes* Travels, p. 285.

5*ly*, That as the *Dutch* Company is constituted, and have managed this Trade, it hath redownded to almost, if not fully to as *general* an advantage, as if managed by an open or regulated Trade: in which they say our Company is much defective; & that supposing a Joint stock necessary, or highly convenient, yet if we might manage ours to more National advantage, it were but fit it should be done.

To prove this might be done, those for a more open Trade urge, that our now *East-India patent* contains near or fully *one third part of the World*, and therefore must have many hundreds, if not thousands of parts, that whereas their *privilege* begins at the *Cape of good Hope*, it is from thence above 4000 Miles upon the Coast of *Affrick* to the *Red Sea*, in all Note the *African* Company's Patent contains from the *Streights* Mouth to the *Cape of good Hope*, which

which they do not Trade to one Port, and very little, if any thing, in the *Red Sea*: which they say might be done to considerable advantage, and much more to *Persia*, then we now do; That in *India* our Company do not Trade to above 20. or 30. Ports, nor vend our Woollen Manufactures at above 3. or 4. Ports, and there *very dear*, who sell again much dearer, and to *Ingrossers*, which hinders the vent: that in *China*, or *Japan*, they have no Trade at all, 'where (to use these words of the Author of the Book in defence of the Company,) in all likelyhood more considerable 'quantities of our Woollen Manufactures 'might be vended, and from thence in re-'turn thereof *Gold*, *Silver*, *and Copper* might 'be brought to supply at least, in a great mea-'sure, the Trade in other parts of *India*, with-'out carrying so much out of *Europe*: But 'these Trades (he says) are not so easily gain-'ed as some fancy, great hazards of conside-'rable stocks must be run, &c.

Printed in (77.) pag. 21.

Whereas, they say were a greater share of the industry and vigour of the Nation now pent up, and greater stocks now worse imployed, or idle, let into this Trade, we might hope for a great Trade to the Ports now of no use to the Company, for that in fact the *Dutch* Company Trade to all Ports in *India*, *China*, *Japan*,

Japan, *&c.* and drive a mighty Trade to *Persia* with the Commodities of those Countreys, *viz.* Spice of all sorts, *&c.*

2*dly*. They say by this our want of a sufficient Commerce in *India* there is a very *small Navigation* imployed in this mighty Trade, of what might be, being not above 20, or 30. Ships *to and from India* in a direct course, and *in India* so inconsiderable that it is not worth the noting: That for this reason, and because we there vend so little Commodity, our Company does Trade with vast quantities of exported *Treasuri*, insomuch that upon search of the Custome books of the Port of *London* only, it appeared by the Entrys, that the Gold and Silver exported for *India* by the said Company from the 2d. of *March* 1673, to the 11th of *March* 1674, amounted to 500. sixty odd thousand pounds Sterling; besides what might be entred in the out-ports, and without entry privately exported, which those that understand this Trade will not think a little: the Author of the aforesaid Pamphlet confesses, that from the end of the Year 1674, to the beginning of the Year 1675, was exported to *India* about 400000*l.* more, in which perhaps we have reason to be suspitious of his modesty: (It were a Nationall work to search the entrys for this and the other Years succeeding) that 'tis the exporting of this Money

that

that endears our Company to the *Indian Princes*, and buys their protection, who otherwise might destroy them if they would, our Company, having not above 2 or 300 people in it, their fort St. *George*, including Factors and Agents of all sorts, and at *Bombey* fewer.

Whereas, that on the other side the *Portuguese* whilst they had the Trade of the *Indies* though under no Company, supported a vast *Navigation* there to serve the occasions of those mighty Empires and their own; that since the *Dutch* have supplanted the *Portugueses* they have yet a greater, having there thousands of Ships Trading from Port to Port in the *Indies*, *Persia*, &c. Besides 50, or 60, (if need be) more *Men of War*, and keep great *Armies* in pay: That they have gotten many spacious *Countrys*, *Islands*, and *Populous Cities* of their own, whereof *Batavia* is near as big and rich as *Amsterdam*; besides divers *Tributary Kingdoms*, whom they have forced into a profitable complyance, and were it not for fear of the English power at home, could daily ruin us at their pleasure: that by the greatness of their Trade in these parts, they gain so considerably, that they can fraight home their great Fleets with the most valuable Commodities in the *Indies*; being the result of their industry in those parts, not of their exported Money.

3*ly*. That

3*ly*. That the *Subscribers* to our *East-India* Stock were originally but few, and the Stock but small, that divers of the shares being now bought in and consolidated into particular hands, there are not above 60. or 80. persons or thereabouts considerably concerned in the Joynt-stock; that although the Stock be not near sufficient to manage even the present Trade, and therefore could admit of more *Depositums* of Money, which would let in a greater number of our people, the Company to prevent the necessity of it, do take up 4 or 500000*l*. at Interest at 5 *per Cent*. which by their dear Sales at home yields them 20 or 30 *per Cent*. or more; that as the Trade redounds to the benefit of few at home, so to as few in *India*, the Companies, Factories and imployments being few, and most lye divided amongst men of mean condition, who will depend solely on the Company, being originally *Hospitall Boys* or such like, and all others restrained to *Traffick*, *Frequent* or *haunt* the *Indies*, or places within their Pattent, by a Clause therein, under penaltys of *Imprisonment*, *Seizures* and *Confiscations*, frequently and severely exempted by the Company, *how truely* I leave to be examined: That upon this accompt, even those few Seamen or others whom they permit to deal for themselves, can make little profit, being charged with great

Mulcts,

Mulcts, made payable to the Company at their discretion for all the Commodities they export or import.

Whereas the original *Stock* of the *Dutch* company was 600000 and this in the year 1602. and the *Number* of the Sharers in the *Dutch* Company of all sorts, and of those considerably concerned, are vastly more, than in our English Company, proved by their Ordinary Councils or Chambers of Curators of this their Company in each Province; besides their Superiour Assemblies, amounting to great Numbers, all which are but *Deputies* of far greater Numbers; that besides their *Navigation Trade*, *Judicature*, and *War* in the *Indies*, let in Multitudes of others, into very profitable imployments, so that in effect they make up another *potent Government*, for the aid of their Nation in all exigencies.

See *Mandelslees Travils* 285. State of the Low Countrys. 159. 160. In 1608. the *Dutch East-India* Stock was made up near 3 Millions Sterling, besides great dividends. Present State of the United Provinces pa. 163 our *East-India* Stock actually paid 1660 was but 368000. the Trade so ill, that in 1665. our effects were sold at 70. *per Cent.* and farther Subscriptions refused: but the act of 15. *Car.* 2. Licencing the Exporting of *Bullion* and forreign Coyne, and the Company betaking themselves to this Commodity, hath occasioned the support of this Trade to the present degree.

I have been the more copious on this particular Subject, first, because of the apprehensions or pretences of some, that our stupendi-

ous

us advantage in this Trade gives us a kinde f National ſecurity, ſo that no ſooner can thers mention any defect in our Trade, but ney are preſently told of our Trade to the *dies*, the wealth of the *Indies*, and our Na- igation to and in the *Indies*.

And yet I ſhall admit, though with little eputation to the reſt, that our *Eaſt-India* Trade, ſuch as it is, ſeems the moſt flouriſh- ng branch of the whole, and therefore that he Gentlemen concerned in this Company ave evidenced their conduct in the *preſent ay of Trade*.

ly, I ſhall not much conteſt but that the ndian Commodities conſumed at home, and e-exported, may (as the reſt of our Trade is ow managed) *prevent* the exportation of ear as much money to our Neighbouring Nations, *viz.* by the uſe of Callicoes inſtead f other Linnens, by a Barter of theſe and he reſt of our *Indian* Commodities in *France* nd other parts *for other Conſumptive goods* ; n which there is an advantage, becauſe the eſs money we part with to our Neighbours, hey will be in the leſs capacity to hurt us, ut this does not prove the *Indian* goods re- xported bring in the Treaſure exported to *India*, ſince the whole, or a great ſhare of it may be, and is by the circulation of forreign contracts *finally reſolved* into other conſump-

tive

tive Importations, of so dangerous a conse-
quence it is to export money.

But suppose the *Indian* goods, re-exported
bring us in more Treasure, yet is it eviden
from such Facts as I have mentioned befor
as are admitted by the Company, and such
as are indisputable, that this part of our Trad
(which before 1654. was managed by th
like Company) was never improved to an
great or considerable degree, in comparison
of the progress made by all other Nation
which have undertaken it: whereof ther
must be causes and reasons highly necessary t
be examined and regulated; I shall add, tha
for those other Facts relating to the presen
debate which seem of less notority, they ar
such, as to my knowledge were affirmed b
many credible witnesses, and by them inten
ded to be proved before a Committee of th
House of Commons, upon the occasion of a Pe
tition there formerly exhibited by the *Cloth*
ers, but having attended several days, were
never heard, because the Parliament was en
gaged in other things, and afterwards Pro
rogued: but I doubt not they are all ready t
attest the same and more before that Judica
ture; which I say, that it may not be thought
that I have highly or officiously reported an
of the aforesaid allegations to the same Judi
cature, I shall leave it to be determined b
wh

what expedients to enlarge this Trade, being in a matter of this Importance contented to have opened ſome queſtions and Facts relating to it (I am ſo free from any malice to the Company, or any man ſo much as concerned in it or envying their gains, that for a more eaſy Compoſure of things, I hartily wiſh there may be found ſome more beneficiall Nationall and comprehenſive way of Managing this Trade by a Joynt ſtock; that thereby the preſent Intereſts of the *Gent.* of this Company may be ſecured, nay and improved; if this cannot be done, then ſubmit it to farther conſideration how juſt and reaſonable it is that theſe Gent. ſhould have compenſation for what they ſhall really loſe by the Diſſolution of the Company.

I ſhall conclude this with remarking, Firſt, that the *Dutch East India* Company Trading on a Joynt-ſtock, and therefore with as much diſadvantage to their re-exporting Merchants as the Engliſh, hath been a means to preſerve us this Limb of Trade from Port to Port in *Callicoes*, *Pepper*, &c. and propably the rather becauſe our Trading in Money hath ſo far deboſh'd the *Indian* Market, that the *Dutch* are not over-ready to deal for theſe Commodities, and therefore principally apply themſelves to their richer *Spice Trade* whereof they have the Monopoly,

This restraint of our Market to our own Merchants and Companies, hath yet brought a farther mischief upon our Manufactures, because our Companies being seated in *London*, our Natives are forced to bring their Manufactures thither by *Land Carriages*, some of of which are so long that they are as chargeable as a Voyage to *Spain* or *Turky*, Quantity for Quantity; all which is superadded to the originall charge of the Manufacture; our Clothiers have also complained, that when they have brought their Cloaths to *London*, they have been frequently and long *delayed* before they have been able to vend them; which whether it hath proceeded from any correspondence or Intelligence between the Companies, their Committees or Agents, their want of Stocks or universall Trade, or from the dearness of our course of Merchandize, and the consequentiall obstructions in the forreign Market, or from all together, I shall not positively undertake to say: But certain it is that in this case our Clothiers for want of a quick Market lose the Interest of so much of their Stocks as lyes dead, which also is superadded to the first cost of their Manufacture; but yet being made necessitous by delay, and confined to the *London* Market, are forced to sell cheap: and then are the poor Manufacturers most miserable, when on the one hand

hand the charges they are at oblige them to sell dear, but yet are confined in their just demands.

It may be remembred here that the odds in *Interest of Money* between *England* and *Holland*, and *England* and *France*, (where none is allowed to be taken under the highest penaltys) must as much prejudice our Manufactures as our forreign Trade, by the unequall charge it brings on our Manufacturers, which charge is still increased as they are longer delayed.

The freedom of the Market being of so great importance; it must also follow, that the like Cloggs and incumbrances put upon the Trades of Ware-house keeping and Shop-keeping, must have ill effects on the National Trade, because these Trades make up the publick Marts and Markets, as hath been said.

From the Contents of this and the last Section it may be observed, that it is not only necessary to ease the *course of Merchandise*, but to remove all other Cloggs and restraints on the *home Market*; for though our Merchants should be able to Trade as cheap as forreigners, yet if it should lye in their disposition to impose on the rest of the people, (whether Manufacturers, Shop-keepers or others) the Merchants might gain much more then

now they do, but our Manufacturers and other Natives might be ſtill ſufferers in ſome degree; 'tis too apparent that our Engliſh Clothiers have made ſo ill Markets at *London*, that they have lived poorly and got little or nothing, whilſt the Merchants have lived ſplendidly and laid up money, the like may be ſaid of others.

And here it may be farther obſerved how predominant private intereſt hath been amongſt us, and how finely it hath ſpun the thread; our *Land-holders* have thought to eaſe themſelves by thruſting great part of the publick Charges, upon Trade, the Merchants in Exchange have gotten *Monopolies on the Land-holders*, and people for all goods exported and imported; and of theſe ſome Companies trading on Joint Stocks have got *Monopolies exclusive to the reſt*; but at the ſame time we have given all forreign Nations *Monoplies on the Engliſh*, in all which we have been eagerly ſeeking to get advantages on one another, but have laid our ſelves open to Forreigners; who (whilſt we ſcrable for the preſent wealth in the Nation) take it out of our fingers at their pleaſure.

To which may be added as a farther obſtruction to the growth of our Manufactures, that our people have gotten a vain and immoderate *affectation and uſe of forreign Manufactures*,

factures and Comodities; which must necessarily sink the Market at home for our own of the same kind; for the same quantity of home Commodity wanting of its former rent, must stagnate and lye on the owners hands, who either will not be able to sell it at any rate, or must sell it much the cheaper.

This *deadness and cheapness* of any Manufacture, on this or any other occasion, will have a very ill Consequence; for it must presently sink the Manufacturers *wages* and discourage the Master of the Work; and then in case the Market doth not mend in some reasonable time, they will withdraw both their labour and Stock.

Nay this, or little better, must be the ordinary fate of all our Manufactures, by the meer want of a Forreign vent; for as any of our Manufactures which supply our National use, draws in more and more of our people till the Manufactures becomes too bulkey to receive a full vent at home, it must then equally stagnate on the hands of all that are concerned in it, at least render them necessitous, and endanger the Manufacture: the increase of imported raw-silk from *Turky* in barter for our Cloath, occasioned the increase of our Silk Manufacture; what is now like to become of it may be seen.

Before I go to the next Section, I shall yet

observe these farther inconveniences from the aforesaid constitutions and course of our Forreign Merchandize.

First, That our Manufactures being confined to buy of our own Merchants and Companies, are not only subject to buy Forreign materials of Manufacture at such prizes as they can and will please to afford them, but must be contented to buy *worse materials* then other Nations make use of, in case our Merchants for their own gain, or by negligence of their Factors, import worse.

2dly, That Forreign materials of Manufacture being thus straitly Imported into *England*, gives our Traders frequent opportunity to *ingrosse Imported Commodities*, (both materialls of Munufacture and others,) and thereby to impose 3 times the currant prize in other Nations upon our Mauufacturers or other buyers, which must not only disable our Manufactures, but hinder re-exportation; this ingrossing Trade is the daily design of a sort of *Cunning men* amongst us; which with *stealing Customes*, and importing and vending *Prohibited goods*, are the ordinary methods of getting *an Estate on a suddain*.

3dly, The seeming ease we have by a *restitution of half Customes upon re-exportation*, is so far from being really such, that it not only leaves the great disproportion and charge

mentioned

mentioned in the last Section, but in Cases where our imported materials of Manufacture are re-exported, being a further unequall charge on our English Manufacturers; because that when re-exported and sold, the Forreign buyers are eased of about half the duties paid, especially if sold so near as *Holland* or *France*; of what consequence then must this be in the Silk-Manufacture? (Supposing *Holland* or *France* could not be otherwise provided of Raw Silk) and so in others, but more particularly in our Imported *Dying Stuffs, and Raw Sugars from the West Indyes*, which are materials peculiar to the English; but by this disadvantage in re-exportation are now mostly Manufactured by Forreigners; of which I shall have occasion to say more, upon Consideration of our present Plantation-Trade, in the mean time, upon what hath been already said, and what I shall adde in the next Section, let any man Judge how causelessly our poor people are taxed with dear selling their Manufactures, with Sloath and other inconsiderable Reproaches by such as *live at ease*.

SECT. VII.

Forreigners eased in Trade; Other clogs of difficulties upon ours; Want of populacy; incidently of extream prizes of victuals, and how the duration of Land-Rents may be secured, our people restrained from Manufactures; the Abuse of the Act of 43. Eliz. 2. Act of 5. Eliz. cap. 4. Meer Prohibitions of no value. Freedomes and pre-emtions of Corporations, with the Consequences: Free-Schools and Scholar-like Imployments: Forreign Protestants hindered from transporting hither; want of Toleration of Protestants Dissenters; the objections briefly considered: Elections in Corporations. Monopolyes of New Manufactures: delay and charge in some Law-suits. Tyths of Hemp, Flax, and Fish, more of Customes, and incidently of Taxes.

FRom the foregoing Sections, it appears how dangerous it is to clog Trade. It is like putting a pound weight at the end of a pole, which is heavier then 20. times so much placed at the hand, for so a small impost or difficulty on Trade shall work down all *Land revenues* more then the snms actually paid. Nay Land-Rents will rise under greater Taxes, where home and Forreign Trade is

left

ſt open and free, as experience hath ſhown *Holland* and elſewhere.

2dly. That the charges and Clogs on Trade are to be eſtimated tolerable or inconvenient by *Compariſon*, as they are more or leſs then the charges on Trade in other Nations, and therefore, That it is of high importance to watch the pollicies of other Nations in Trade; if other Nations Trade with as much diſadvantage to their Natives as the Engliſh, they never out-ſtrip us; But if they eaſe and facilitate their Trade at home and abroad, So muſt we, elſe they will beat us out.

What then are we to expect whileſt our neighbouring Forreigners continue to have the aforeſaid advantages upon us in courſe of Forreign Merchandize, when alſo the homevent of their Manufactures is not confined to the Merchants of one Nation, nor Compnyes of one Town, when their Manufacturers are not obliged to the charge of long Land-carriages, nor oppreſt with delays, but can ſell when and where they pleaſe, and to all Merchants Aliens, aſwell as to their own, and therefore have an unlimitted and moſt profitable market.

The *odds in Populacy* muſt alſo produce the like odds in Manufacture; plenty of people muſt alſo cauſe *cheapneſſe of wages*; which will cauſe the cheapneſſe of the Manufacture; in

a scarcity of people wages must be deare
which must cause the dearnesse of the Manu
facture; But this populacy I speak of, mus
not be understood of those people which th
Extent of Territory makes necessary for th
meer tilling of the ground, keeping of Catt
&c. for in this sence there is no doubt, bu
the grand Seigniors or Spanish Dominion
are more populous then *Holland*; The popu
lacy I intend and which only can be service
ble to Manufacture, are those exuberant nu
bers which cannot find Imployment in hu
dandry, nor otherwise but in Trade; i
which sence *France* and the *United Provinc*
are most Populous; their Trad
and people have grown up toge
ther, having nourished one ano
ther; the like may be said of som
parts of *Germany* and *Italy*.

See Sir *William Temples* Book of the *United provinces* Ch. 6.

But on the other side *Englan*
never was so populous as i
might have been, and undeni
ably must now be far lesse po
pulous then ever, having s
lately peopled our vast *Ameri
can Plantations* and *Ireland*; th
decay of our Manufactures hath
much depopulated our Inlan
Corporations of the Villages Adjacent; th
decay of our Fishing Trade our Sea-Towns;

The peopling of *Ireland* have intended he was to supply the losse by the Irish Massacre being computed at about 250000. persons besides what the growing plentys of *Ireland* have invited over dayly.

know

how this want of people is hardly credible with many who ſee no farther then their own eaſe and gain; they will tell us, we have ſo many people already that we know not what to do with them; which is true, and ſo they have in *Spain*, where their Villages are in a manner forſaken, and many of their great Cities and Towns lie half empty; moſt of their ordinary people having no employment at home, are gone to *America*, thoſe that remain chiefly conſiſting in Gentlemen, Lawyers, Officers and Shopkeepers, with their neceſſary men of husbandry and ſervants: I muſt not omit Prieſts and beggars, ſince to the honour and comfort of *Spain* they make about a fourth or fifth part of the whole; there is little or no ſupport for other ranks of men: how near this we are in *England* let any man judge, or how ſoon we ſhall come to it through the decay of our Manufactures; What an uproar have we already in an Engliſh Pariſh if a poor young couple happen to marry, or a man with Children chance to get into a houſe? how they are toſſed from Juſtice to Juſtice, and from Pillar to poſt, by vertue of the ſeveral Acts for ſettlement of poor? And what joy there is when theſe clogs are removed? which acts and proſecutions regularly and daily force many

Stat. 39. *Eliz.* 4th 7. *Jacob.* 4. 14 *Car.* 2. 12.

many out of the Nation, and in effect *ban*
them by Act of Parliament; 'Tis like, that b
sides the Inquisition, the proud *Spaniards* h
some such expedients as these to be rid
this kinde of lumber; they would be no
glad of those laborious drudges to encount
the populous *French*.

Being upon this Subject I cannot omit t
observe the bad consequences of some othe
of our late Laws, made to raise *the prizes*
Victualls, which doubtless were projecte
for the raising *Land Rents*, viz. the *Acts f*
Transportation of Corn, and the Acts again
the Importing Irish *and* Scotch *Cattle*, whic
had they the full effects intended, must muc
assist both in depopulating the Nation, an
Subverting our remaining Manufactures
For if the Manufacturers buy his Victualls
excessive rates, at what rates must he sell hi
Manufacture, or how shall he live? especia
ly in a time when his Manufactures fall upo
his hands daily? but this will mainly dissatis
fy some, who will have no Manufacture o
Trade, if the price of the Victualls must no
be excessive, for then say they, how can the
vallue of Lands be raised? to which I answer
First, that the products of Lands do no
wholly consist in Victualls, and that much
Land is to be applied to many other as profita
ble, and (perhaps more profitable ways) then
for

meer Victualls, *eſpecially in a Nation a-ding in Trade and People*; for this I ſhall er to our Copious Books of Husbandry, ich then may do us much good, but little none before.

Secondly, That though Victualls be not at ery exceſſive price, yet if there be a *quick great market* at a midling price, it will ſe and hold up the vallue of Lands, as ex-ience hath proved of late years.

But Thirdly, It is impoſſible the vallue of nds can be much raiſed by the meer raiſing he price of Victualls, eſpecially in a Nati-but thin of people; nor would ſuch a Re-nue endure or be tollerable; perhaps the aniſh Dons did once raiſe the prizes of ctualls, or ſuppoſe they ſhould do it now, at weighty effect would it have, unleſs drive all the reſt of the Spaniards into *Ame-*? But that which will moſt *certainly and ably* raiſe the Revenue of Land muſt be the *reaſe of Treaſure and Trading people*; ſuppoſe people of *England* were trebled, 'tis plain t the Land muſt yield treble the produce in er Victualls, elſe the people muſt ſtarve; t theſe people will not ſtarve, eſpecially *ding people*, nor will they live needily, or rcely if they can help it, and will there-re ſet themſelves and others to the impro-ng of all corners of Land in the Nation, till

till our Lands produce more then treble Victualls they now do, a thing very practicable, and then supposing Victualls as cheap and cheaper then now, Land will ordinarily be treble it's present vallue, especially if we consider how much may be then applyed to raise Hemp, Flax, and other necessary and profitable things, with the increase of Wool, Hides, Tallow, *&c.* And as the people increase, so will the vallue of the Land; there is no doubt but *England* upon the utmost improvement might maintain 6 times its present number of people, nay 10 times with an indifferent use of the mighty plenty of Fish our own Sea affords us; there is as little doubt but upon a great increase of people and mony, Victualls will be rather too dear, and that Law may be then requisite to restrain the price.

By the Maps of *England* it is found to contain 39568000. Acres besides that which is allowed for High-ways, all the United Provinces are hardly so big as *Yorkshire*.

Such was the ancient populacy of *England* that we had formerly Statutes made in restraint of the exportation of Corn, our Fleets also found vent, though our people kept Lents, Ember-weeks, and Fasting days wherein they fed on Fish and white meats, and yet we read of Famines in those days, whereas now we finde it necessary to export all the Corn we can, we eat very little Fish

d have made Acts against the importation Forreign Cattle (which by the way gave *Monopoly* to a few English and Welch breed- Counties on all the rest of the Nation,) d yet we thought our markets over-clog- d.

But *England* is not only prejudiced by the icity of people, but we have another rank Statutes which hinder very many of those have from applying themselves to Manu- ture: one is the Stat. of *43th. Eliz. cap.* 2. hich according to the intention of it seems cessary now when we have such a vast in- ase of poor; but such is the Arbitrary lati- de given by the Act to Over-seers and fices, that many of our Laborious people ll able to work, by clamour or favour get rish maintenances, choosing rather to live zily by this means, assisted with some pil- ring.

Then we have the Stat. of *5th. Eliz. cap.* 4. hich (though it gratifies the blinde avarice some of our Corporation men) is more ejudicial, by restraining our people to work Manufacture, unless they have served an *pprentiship full seaven years*, which is so long a rm of drudgery and slavery before they can apany fruit of their labors, that Parents are terred from putting their Children Ap- entices to Manufacture; nor will many of

our

our Youths or young men be brought to it especially the most apt and docile, and tho of ripeness of years, of which many would more perfect in 3 or 4 years then others in and therefore they betake themselves to o more easy and ready Imployments, or e live idle.

The same Act does very strangely provi that no man shall take an *Apprentice* for Woo len Manufacture in any Town Corporate, u lesse such *Apprentice* be his Son, or the Fath or Mother of such *Apprentice* have the cle yearly vallue of 40*s.* Inheritance, nor in a Market-Town or Village unlesse he be Son, or his Father or Mother have the cle yearly value of 3*l.* Inheritance; which clau apparently shuts out at least 5 parts of t people in 6, from the Woollen Manufactur and by consequence tends to the *depopulati* of our Inland Towns, the increase of Rogu Vagabonds and poor; These difficulties Trade begot the Act of the 43. *Eliz.* and m ny others of the like nature, and there much work for our Justices.

Which by the way may give occasion observe how vain it is to make Acts again Rogues, Vagabonds, or Poor, may again thefts or Murthers, how little the Houses Correction, Whipping-posts, Pillories, Gallows can prevail, whilst our other Con

tutio

tions drive our People into necessities; nor any *prohibitory or penal Law*, ever have the intended effect, unless the *Grounds and Causes* of the mischiefs be removed; of which I shall say more when I come to speak of our late Prohibition of *French* Goods. Amongst the restraints on our *English* Trade, the inclosure of Trade to *the Freemen of Corporations*, and *Guilds*, may be deservedly mentioned as one.

This Priviledge is claimed by most, or all of our *ancient Corporations*, and might be well intended at first by the Donors, but as now used is very prejudicial; for the Power of admitting Free-men being generally lodged in a Council or Committee of *a few Free-men*, any Forreigner (and such they call all those who are not Sons or Apprentices of seven years standing to a Free-man in the same Town) must *buy* his Freedom before he can exercise any open Trade there; for which these Free-men are left at liberty to demand as great and arbitrary Price as they please, or if they will, may wholly refuse; whence it commonly follows, that Beginners in Manufacture, and other Trades, being Forreigners, and having but small Stocks, can never obtain Freedom, and without it are buthened and plagued with by-Laws, Penalties, Distresses, and Seizures; nay, if a Man be exquisite in his Trade, he

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shall hardly get a Freedom for Money, in a Corporation where there are more free of the same Trade; for then he is lookt on as *a dangerous person*, and likely to *eat the bread out of their mouths*, (as they phrase it) in which they will gratifie, and influence one another, being the common cause, and can easily do it: The fewer Free-men there are in a Trade, they think the rest may get the more; and thus are most of our ancient Corporations and Guilds become *oppressive Oligarchies*, excluding or discouraging the *English* Subjects from Trading in our greatest and best situated Towns where the *Markets* are; and which are therefore the most proper and ready *Seats* for Manufacture, and other Commerce: For this and the Act of the 5*th* of *Eliz.* our Corporation-men have only this to say, That care ought to be taken, that none but persons *skilful* should exercise any Trade, which is true, but the Law of necessity, common sence, and experience, provides sufficiently for this, since an unskilful Artificer or Trader will not find imployment, and therefore must receive due punishment by his own *Ignorance*: 'Tis confessed, Manufactures may be made *deceitfull*, which may disgrace and prejudice our vent abroad; but this fraud is an Act of Skill, which cannot be discovered or prevented, without the daily scrutinies of Judicious Persons; for

which

which our other former Statutes have
made *ſome proviſion*, but *defective*; it
e wiſhed, there was a conſtant Judica
Men knowing in Trade in every County to
uperviſe the ſufficiency of Manufactures:
n the mean time this Argument for the ſup-
ort of the Act of the 5*th* of *Eliz.* and Free-
oms muſt appear very fallacious, ſince both
he Act and the Freedoms ſerve only to ex-
lude the *Engliſh* Subjects, and of thoſe many
f the moſt skilful, from Trade, and by inclo-
ing Manufactures to a few, hinder their
rowth, and make them far dearer.

A farther inconvenience of theſe Freedoms
, That *the pre-emption of our Manufactures,*
nd Imported Goods, in moſt of our inferiour
Corporations and Cities, as well as in *Lon-*
on, is in a manner incloſed to the *Number*
nd *Stocks* of the Free-men, and is very much
ubject to their pleaſures, by reaſon of their
nion and correſpondence in Counſels: So
hat he who would eſcape the long Land-
Carriages to *London*, and *London* Companies,
muſt fall into the hands of theſe other Free-
men; theſe Free-men have generally ſo brave
time of it, that they can live in eaſe and
plenty, (every Shop reſembling an Office)
whilſt the laborious part of our Traders are
eady to periſh; which Priviledges could not
ave ſurvived the Statute of 21 *Jac.* againſt

Monopolies, but that they are *saved by a spe-cial Proviso in that Statute; so civil were the Burgesses of Corporations at that time.*

Our Trade being thus clogged, and the very Avenues to Manufactures so much narrowed and choaked up, it doth not a little help to the subverting of our Manufactures, and other Trade, that the Passages to other Preferments are made so open and easie, at present I mean all those that depend *upon Literature*, in which our Youth are led from step to step by all manner of Incouragements; First by the multitude of our late endowed *Free-Schools*, where every ordinary Man's Son is taught *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, for a small matter; and then is above Manufacture: Then we have two mighty endowed Universities, where there will, at least, be hope of preferment, let the throng be never so thick; and thence they have farther and more comfortable prospects; and in the mean time live easie, at little or no charge, as Servitors, or on small Stipends, till they become Scholars of Houses, *&c.* others of these Free-School-Boys grow Pen-men of all sorts; and all these are a sort of *Gentlemen-like* ways of living, which intitle them to be called *Masters*; which gives a main temptation both to Parents and Children; who on the other hand see the *contemptible* and *miserable* condition of

our

ur poor Clothworkers, and other ordinary rtificers, who at the beſt are called *Mechanick Fellows*; and what is yet farther miſchievous is, that our Youth thus educated, ever reading any thing of Manufacture, Exportation, or Importation, in *Homer* and *Virgil*, or their Colledge Notes, and being from hence carried to other Studies, which have o cognation with Trade, can ordinarily have o ſenſation of the advantages of it; like a owl which hath a rub at hand, the farther ey go, the more they are divided from it; whence it hath unfortunately enſued, that ur *Men of Learning* are either generally ſient in this matter, or elſe, being inclin'd to hink it the ſole concern of the *dirty* and *Jervile* part of the People, ſpeak of it with ontempt, and ſome with reflection; by whom moſt others being influenced, we are ill pretending to be more accurate in Logick and Philoſophy, (which howſoever otherwiſe uſeful, do not add two-pence a year o the Riches of the Nation) we continue o ſqueeze all the ſapleſs Papers and Fragments of *Antiquity*; we grow mighty well acquainted with the old *Heathen-gods*, *Towns*, nd *People*; we prize our ſelves in fruitleſs Curioſities; we turn our Lice and Fleas into Bulls and Pigs by our *Magnifying-glaſſes*; we re ſearching for the World in the Moon with

our *Telescopes*; we send to weigh the Air o
the top of *Teneriffe*; we invent *Pacing Sa*
dles, and Gimcracks of all sorts; all whic
are voted Ingenuities, whilst the Notions o
Trade are turned into Ridicule, or much out o
fashion.

In all which we are very short of the Po
licies of our Neighbours, the *French*, *Dutch*
and other trading and wise Nations; wh
on the one hand have no Laws or Constitu
ons to restrain or exclude their People fro
Manufacture, nor to Ferret them away; an
on the other, do consider *Trade* as an *Honor*
ry and almost *Sacred* thing, and do highly e
steem and cherish their Manufacturers, a
well as their other necessary Traders.

Now should these restraints and discou
ragements on our own People and Trade b
removed, it would doubtless much advan
tage our Trade in some time; but would no
bring us so sudden an increase of People, Ma
nufacturers, Ships, and Riches, as is highl
requisite for the carrying on of a mighty
Trade, or perhaps for our National security
nor can these so suddenly be had, but fro
other parts of the World, where they ar
moving; Men, Ships, or Riches, do no
grow on the Trees, nor yet drop out of th
Clouds.

But we have such another nk of Laws against *Forigners*, that we are not to ope Forreigners will come ither; I mean those which isable Forreigners from rading in *England*; therefore we must first have a aw of general *Naturalization* of *Protestant*-orreigners, though to the displeasure of any of our own self-interested ignorant Traers, nor will that do, without a Repeal of he Act of the *5th Eliz. Cap.* 4. and a compleat Regulation of our Trade; for neither Manufacturers or Merchants will remove from heir own Countries hither to sit idle; nor will all this bring us over any great Numbers without some *Toleration* of their *Consciences*, no not of Forreign *Protestants*, who differ much rom us in several Points which *they think* material; all which is demonstrated in Fact by he success of *His Majesties Proclamation* at he beginning of our last *Dutch* War; by which Forreigners, then under the utmost errors, were invited to the Liberties and Plenties of *England*; but we see few or none of them came or stay'd with us on this incouragement: In this the *Dutch* have a further advantage upon us since they

Besides the Common Law these *Statutes*, 1 *R.* 3. 9. 21 *H.* 8. 16. 22 *H.* 8. 13. 32 *H.* 8. 10. 25 *H.* 8. 9. 14 *H.* 8. 2. 4 *H.* 7. 23. and many others of former date, to which are added 12 *Car.* 2. 16. 14 *Car.* 2. 11. and 15 *Car.* 2. 7.

See Sir *William Temple's* Book of the *Dutch*, *Chap.* the 6th.

allow free Ports, free Trade, and all other National Freedoms to Forreigners; whereby their People of all sorts, their Navigation and Stocks in Trade, have increased continually.

So are the most considerable *French* Ports *Free*, (unless for Goods *prohibited*, as in *Holland* some are;) no sooner was *Dunkirke* in the Hands of the *French King*, but he made it a Free Port; so hath he invited all Forreign Artificers into *France*, by granting them as great, or greater Freedoms than his own Subjects enjoy.

There are yet others of our Laws, which must prejudice our Trade of all sorts, and give a farther advantage to the *Dutch* and *French*, I mean those which inflict Penalties on *Protestant Dissenters*; not only because they may hinder the transplanting of Forreign Protestant Artificers, or Merchants, but because they disable many of those we have in *England* already, from carrying on any manner of Trades; and if so, then in effect they are not People, since they cannot answer the ends of People, but are rather the *Trunks and Signs of Men in a Nation*, their Industries and ingenuities being lock'd up. Suppose two or 300000 of our own People disabled, it may be presumed more than a Million *per Annum* loss to the Nation; what

then

hen may be our loss by the shutting out a
r greater number? perhaps ten times the
umber of Forreign *Protestants*, and those
f the richest the most mercantile, and the
est Manufacturers of *Europe*.

That this is the Case of dissenting Prote-
ants in *England*, must be very plain to those
ho shall consider the Statute of 20 *l.* a
onth, and those Volumes of other Statutes
ade before and since the King came in a-
inst *Non-Conformists*; most of which were
ended against Papists, and occasioned by
mer Popish Treasons, but reach all Pro-
stant Dissenters, who, besides the bare Pe-
lties, are liable to the daily charge and
ouble of *Informations*, *Actions*, and *Indict-*
ts in our Courts of *Law*, and as many or
ore *Libels and Presentments* in our *Spiritual*
urts; our *Constables*, *Church-wardens*, and
ond-Juries are upon their Oaths constantly
und to accuse them; if they omit, 'tis at
ery other Man's pleasure to inform, and some
other will not fail of it; thus are Dissen-
s brought into the hands of the *Officers* of
h Courts, whose duty it is to prosecute;
ese may delay for a time, whilst they are
d for their favours, or until *notice* be taken
it, but no longer, and then must follow a
zure of Dissenters *Persons* or *Estates*, or
h; Besides all which, particular *Justices*

of

of the Peace are by several late Statutes authorized and obliged to *Convent, Convict, and make Levies*; which sufferings being accompanied with a continual *Anxiety of mind*, our *Protestant* Dissenters cannot possibly apply themselves or their Stocks to Manufacture or other Trade.

See Sir *William Temple*, chap. of Religion.

Whilst, on the other hand, both the *Dutch* and *French*, and most other of our neighbouring Nations, any thing famous for Trade, allow Liberty of Conscience to *Protestant* Dissenters, at least to such a degree *as to enable them to trade*: Which is all that the Interest of Trade requires: 'tis true, that now of late we have heard the *French King* hath given some greater discountenance to Protestants than heretofore, (whether to gratifie the *Romish* Clergy, who may be otherwise very useful to his present designs, and whom he daily and visibly endears by all personal demonstrations of favour, if we may believe our Gazets) or for what other reason, I shall not undertake to say,) however not so as *to disable* the *French* Protestants from Trade.

What farther hardships he may put upon *French* Protestants, or other his Trading Subjects, in case they shall have no other *Asylum* or *Shelter* to repair to, time may shew.

This being the Case in the matter of Toleration between us and these our subtile and potent Neighbours, the Question is, what is to be done? A long *Surfeit* of experience hath demonstrated, that the Penal Laws, though accumulated and imbittered to as great a degree as hath been desired, are not a sufficient expedient to reduce Protestant Dissenters. To purpose any thing which shall subvert our present Church of *England*, is that which I shall not do; conceiving it for the honour and safety of the Nation to support a *flourishing* National Church, and that the present *Protestant Church of* England hath in all respects the best Title to it.

On the other side, to rest under our present Disadvantages by the want of a convenient Toleration of Dissenting Protestants, must disable us from making that sudden, and full improvement of our Trade, as otherwise we might, and as perhaps may be found necessary for our support against those Forreigners who already do, and daily will more exceed us in *Treasures and People*, if they shall let in, and we continue to shut out, so mighty a share of each.

Here then there seems a difficulty, which deserves and requires our utmost prudentials to clear, by a *Toleration of Protestant Dissenters*, consistent with the preservation of our present

present *Church of England* in all its Rights; I am perswaded none of the *Generous Dignitaries*, or Members of our Church, would oppose such a Toleration; some there have been, who could never think themselves happy, unless others were miserable, and have loved Cruelty for Cruelty's sake; the most infamous for this was *Phalaris*, who was at last brought to roar in his own *Brazen Bull*; nor is this a time for Men to gratifie their humors or passions this way, if it may prove perilous towards the whole; rather let our Hearts melt with a tender and charitable Commiseration to these our Fellow-Country-men, who by their Birth-right are intitled to *Magna Charta* equally with our selves, but are incapacitated to enjoy the advantages of it, meerly for *Conscience*, when by no other overt Act they have forfeited their Hereditary Claims, when their sufferings undeniably demonstrate they are no *Hypocrites*, and therefore that they suffer for what they *cannot help*; let us observe, that God never planted or propagated his Truth by *Temporal Power*, that he was in the *small Voice*, not in the *Thunder*, or the *Whirl-wind*: Let us consider the *originalness* of Christians, whose *Anathema's* against Dissenters were only accompanied with *Admonishments*, and meer *Excommunications*, without any *Writ* to take the *Bo-*

or make Levies on Mens *Estates*; Let us remember that we have flung off the Yoke of *Papal Tyranny*, *founded* on a pretended infallible conclusive *Church Authority*, superinduced upon Christians by a Conspiracy of *Romish Priests*, as subservient to their Ambition, Pride, Ease, and Luxury; that if persecution were *then* wholly unwarrantable, it is *now* far more *incoherent*. When our present Church professes it self *fallible*, and both our Church, and all Protestant Religion it self, are derived from no other Principle than the Fallibility of all Churches, at least in their Decrees; when our first most famous Protestant Doctors carried on the Reformation in opposition to their National Churches and Laws, such were *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and many others abroad, and our *Martyrs* at home, whose Glorious Sufferings are celebrated by one of our own Mr. *Fox*. former and those Learned and Pious Divines, as the chief *Gemms* which only beautifie our *present Church*: Let it never be said, that the *Interests* or *Temperaments* of our present Church are *inconsistent* with our National *Wealth*, *Happiness*, and *Security*, or *obstruct our progress* towards them; this would give too great an advantage to her Publick and private Enemies: Let us industriously amass all the just Confiderations we can

can to facilitate *these great ends*, by some Toleration of *Protestant* Dissenters, being it is so important, I say of *Protestant* Dissenters, because these having no forreign dependance on the *Pope*, have reason to be endeared and knit up to the National Interest by the common protection and security of their Estates and Families, equally with the rest: As for the *Popish Party*, I am confident that after so many late accurate Treatises, and Authentick Narratives, of the dangerous Principles, and horrid treasonable Practises, of the Priests, and others of the same Party, none will think it necessary, or possible, that I should add one syllable to prove that Party unfit for a Toleration.

Such being the high Motives to make us wish for a Toleration of *Protestant* Dissenters, I shall, with all deference to Authority and without any of those passionate reflections which usually incumber this debate, briefly endeavour to examine the dangers objected, which are,

First, an apprehension of a necessary great *increase of Dissenters*, and this (as *some* will have it) to such a degree, as to swallow up the present Church; a very strange *supposition* for those who have *Scripture* and *Antiquity* on their side: On the contrary, it may justly hoped, that the *Church of* England may then reconcile all those whom *Penalties* ca-

not reduce; and the rather, because when the *Penalties* are gone, all Parties must resort to *reasoning* and *sanctity*, which are the proper and only means of making Impressions on Mens *Understandings* and *Consciences*; *Penalties* may bring in *Atheists* and *Hypocrites*, but can never work a real change in any Mans *opinion*, unless when the sufferings of Dissenters proselyte others, (being a kind of Argument of the truth of what is so asserted, at least amongst the vulgar or middle sort;) our present Protestant *Church of* England must therefore have an advantage this way; and yet on the other side, will retain that of being vindicated by the Government, in as much as all publick *Divine Service* in the Parish Churches will remain in the form now used in our *present Church*, and all *Church preferments* imposed to the Clergy of the same Church; which Privledges, being consistent with a Toleration, may continue secured to our Church by our present Penal Laws in force for that purpose, with an addition of such others as may be thought necessary; whence it will follow; first,

Dr. *Heylin*, observes, that after the Toleration of Protestants in *France*, the other Party in Religion having the *countenance of the State*, and the Prescription and Possession of so many years to confirm the same, is in as prosperous a condition both for Power and Patrimony, as any that acknowledgeth the Authority of the Popes of *Rome*. *Geog.* 176.

first, that it will be more for the *ease* and *convenience*; nay and Interest of the Laicks t conform, rather than to seek farther for Di senting Conventicles, whose Ministers the must help to maintain; which *Convenience* with the *Countenance* of *Authority* given t the National Church, is a great matter since it will bring in all those, who bein good Christians in the main, are yet little a fected with the Points in difference, whic are the *generality*, as may be seen by the equal resort to the Parish Churches befo and since His Majesties Restoration. But s condly, it will then be yet more the intere and advantage of all Clergy-men to confor by the great and *Honourable preferments* th may this way hope for; which they cann otherwise obtain.

The other grand Objection against a T leration of *Protestants*, is the danger of t Tempotal Government; which seems y stranger than the other, if we consult o *Reasons*, which must tell us, that Men *ease* will be better satisfied than when in p that Men who are kept innocently and p fitably *busie*, who by their Industry can l well, support their Families; and gain states, will be less apt to study, of do m chief to the Publick, than those, who ing disabled from all such Imployments,

daily goaded with penal Laws, a condition which perhaps may be thought more grievous in *England* than the like hardships in *Turky* and *Muscovy*, where all suffer alike, when in *England* our Protestant Dissenters hear much of *Magna Charta*, and see others enjoy the full fruit of it, but are precluded themselves, and this for meer differings in Religions belief. But why should I labour to evince that which *Experience* hath demonstrated; we have the great Instance of *France*, and the like in the Kingdom of *Poland*, in *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *Hamburg*, and other parts of *Germany*; All which Nations have been at peace, at least about Religion ever since the Tolerations given, as some of them could never be before, particularly *France*; which must appear to proceed from the *politique virtue* of Toleration, not from the *coercive* power of *Standing Forces*, or *despotick Monarchy*, as some would have it, because that of *Poland* is *regulated*, and the rest are *Republicks*. 'Tis notorious that before the *French* Toleration many of that National Church had or pretended to have as fearful apprehensions of the effects of it; but we see what Councils did prevail even amongst the *Popish Party*, and what hath followed? We find *France* the most powerful of Nations, and the *French* King so confident of his

Protestants, that he long intrusted his mighty Armies, in the hands of *Monsieur Turenne*, a *Protestant* till near his death. On the other side we have the Example of *Spain*, whose execrable and inexorable Cruelties towards dissenters hath mainly Assisted in the present poverty and weakness of that Nation: We may then conclude that Persecution is a stale piece of policy, which perhaps might have born a debate in *Harry the 8th's time*, but is now tryed to our hands: And let any man judge whether the *French* or *Spanish Church* be now most flourishing, or most likely to continue; the *French Church* and Church-men will certainly get ground with the *French Victories*, for which they are as much beholding to the French *Protestants* as to the rest. Let us not therefore be wholly insensible that the Church of *England* may fall under the worst circumstances of danger, otherwise than from *Protestant* Dissenters; as suppose *England* should ever be reduced to such a condition as to be no longer able to bear up against foreign Powers, what then would become of our *present Church*? what sort of men would then push into our *Bishopricks*, *Deaneries*, and other Church-Preferments? a Fatality which we ought therefore to provide against by a Union of Protestant interests and affections and increase of Traders, as far as safely we may; in which

Foreigners

Foreigners are grown so nicely vigilant, that not long ago we might observe the policies of the great *French King* and the great *Duke of Tuscany* curiously Angling for the *Jews*; for when the *French King* had made *Marseilles* a free Port (which was about 12 years since) the *Jews* planted at *Leghorn*, induced by an offer of protection at *Marseilles*, and a sweeter situation of that place, resolved to transplant, which the Great *Duke* discovering, applyed his utmost endeavours to prevent it; which he did by making an Edict, That if any Christian bought a Jews house, it should be forfeit. In *England* a Jew cannot buy a house. I am no Advocate for Dissenters or Jews, but for the *Common Interest* of *England*, by which that of the Church of *England* must stand or fall. And being now speaking of somewhat that concerns Religion, there occur to my memory two plain Texts of Scripture, one is, *that of two evils we are to choose the least*, and another that a *Kingdom divided cannot stand*. I shall desire the Reader to couple these considerations with what I shall say in the following Sections concerning the present posture of this and our Neighbour Nations, and then he will not accuse me of having made an unnecessary digression.

Whilst we are calculating the best expedient to bring in *forreign* Protestant Artificers,

and *forreign* Manufacture, it is fit that notice should be taken of that Clause in the Act of 21 of King *James chap.* 3. which leaves the Inventers of new Manufactures at liberty to obtain *Patents* for *Monopolies* for one and twenty years, which Statute being in *construction* extended to all Manufactures already used by Forreigners that are not used here, hinders the introducing, or growth and perfection of any new forreign Manufactures, and makes it the busines of our more observant Travellers to hauk after Monopolies.

This is no question but several other obstructions to the Trade of *England* might be observed, particularly that the carrying on of *Elections* in Corporations of latter years with so much drinking, is very prejudicial to our Manufactures; for men (upon this or any other occasion) being once *debauched*, hardly ever retrieve themselves, and therefore lost to Manufacture and the Nation.

Our Fishers have complained that in several parts they are forced to pay *Tyth* for the *Fish* they catch on their own Coasts, in which the *Dutch*, and other Fishermen have the advantage to the value of the Fish, and must therefore disable our Trade of Fishery in those parts.

It hath also been noted that the payment of *Tyth* out of our *Hemp* and *Flax*, does as much disable the increase of Hemp and Flax in *Eng-*

land

land, the rest being made so much the dearer to the owner, that it is not vendible, as otherwise it would be; and thereby prevent our great forreign Importation of Hemp and Flax. These being things of so great Importance to the Nation, may deserve a full Examination and remedy, whatsoever the particular interests of some Incumbents of Churches may suggest to the contrary.

Lastly, we have a farther complaint from the Traders of all sorts, of the tedious and chargeable proceedings in some Courts of Justice, occasioned by *Writs of Error*, and *Suits in Chancery*, in which last Court many are hung up for seven years and more, and are forced to expend much more than the money they unjustly sue for: *Our little Courts*, especially about *London*, are as destructive to poor Seamen, Manufactorers and other laborious people, where in a suit for a disputable Groat, or meer malice, they are easily lead in, or forced to spend three or four pounds; if but thirty or forty shillings 'tis enough to ruine such poor wretches and their Families; which hath caused many thousands to perish in Goal, or fly from their Habitations and Countrey, since the erection of several new inferior Jurisdictions.

Here again we may look back and observe the mischievous effects of private and mistaken

Interests, pride and humor; which I shall no
recapitulate, but should here conclude thi
Section; but that having mentioned th
greatness of our *Customs* amongst the incom
brances on our Trade, I am willing to cle
myself from insinuating or wishing any Di
minution of His Majesties Revenue; nor woul
the moderation of the Customs work any suc
effect, (at least in the Judgments of wise me
who have considered it) were the other ob
structions on our Trade regulated; of this S
Walter Raleigh took notice of very early i
his Observations upon Trade, presented t
King James, in these words.

'Of this their smallness of Custom, (mean
'ing in *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, &c.) inwards an
'outwards, we have daily experience; for
'two *English* Ships, or two of any other Na
'tion, be at *Burdeaux*, both laden with Wine
'300 Tun apiece, the one bound for *Holla*
'or any other the Petit States, the other fo
'*England*; the Merchant shall pay above 900
'here, and other duties, when the other
'*Holland*, or any other Petit State shall
'cleared for 50 *l. and so in all other Wares a*
'*Merchandizes accordingly*; which draws a
'Nations to traffick with them, and althoug
'it seems but small duties which they
'ceive, yet the multitudes of all kind
'Commodities and Coin that is brough

'ther

there, and carryed out by themselves and others, is so great, that they receive more Customs and Duties to the State by the greatness of their Commerce in one year, than *England* doth in two years; for the 100th part of the Commodities are not spent in *Holland*, but vented into other Countries, which make all the Country Merchants to buy and sell, and increase Ships and Mariners to transport them.

My travels and meaning is not, neither hath been, to diminish your Majesties Revenues, but exceedingly to increase them, &c.

All Nations may buy and sell freely in *France*, and there is free Custome outwards twice a year; at which times our Merchants do there make their sales of *English* Commodities, and do buy and lade their Bulk with *French* Commodities to serve for the whole year; and in *Rochel* in *France*, and in *Bourdeaux*, free Custom all the year long, except some small Tolls, which makes free Traffick, and makes them flourish.

To this he adds an Instance in *Genoua*, formerly the Store-house of *Italy*. But after they had set a Custom of 16 per Cent. all Nations left trading with them, but that on the other side, the *Duke of* Florence, by setting a small Custom at *Leghorn*, had brought all the Trade thither: Thus did this great Man of his time express himself.

But admitting, that by the moderation of our Customs Rates, our present publick Revenue in Customs should be somewhat sunk; yet how easily might this Revenue be made good by a Land-Tax, or by some *Excise* upon Extravagancies, and Forreign consumptive Commodities spent at home, without the least prejudice to Trade? Thus do the *Dutch* raise far more than the Revenue of our Customs; and if by this means the private Revenue of our Land must universally rise, and the People better be enabled to pay any other Taxes, why should the Land-holders, or any on pretence of Service to His Majesty, oppose it? Suppose His Majesty had a Customs of 5 *s.* in the Pound on all the *English* Treasure exported, would any Man for the sake of the Customs, and out of zeal to His Majesties Interest, promote the Exportation of all the *English* Treasure? How much this is the Case of the present *English* Customs, doth, and more largely will appear.

Certainly it was very unfortunate for *England*, That when Sir *Walter Raleigh* wrote these and other his excellent Observations on Trade, our Councels were under an earnest pursuit of the *Plantation Trade*, on which great Customs were projected; for so it hath happened, that whilst our Neighbour Nations have been vigilant to ease and facilitate their ways

ays of Trade, the Trade of *England* hath ontinued under the former disadvantage and incumbred with new charges and difficulies of later years; all which in Conjunction ave worked us out in all the Particulars entioned before, and in divers others; and recompence of these losses, our *Plantation-rade* hath robbed and prevented us of some illions of our People; amongst which very any being, or might have been Manufaturers, the Nation hath also lost many more illions of Pounds in the loss of their Manufactures.

SECT. VIII.

hat a Nation may grow poor by Forreign Trade, viz. by an excess of meer Importations, illustrated by some Observations; this facilitated by exporting Money or Bullion; the fatal Consequences and Symptoms of a Consumptive Trade, decay of Manufactures, other ways of living over-stocked, fall of Rents, general Poverty, an increase of Criminals of all sorts, Depopulation; some Application to the present Case of England, *and amongst others the occasion of the new Buildings about* London; *of Incontinency, Cunning,* &c.

As a Nation may grow *Rich and Populous*, and consequently *strong* by Forreign Trade; so may a Nation grow *poor* and *dis-*

peopled

peopled, and consequently *wealthy* by Foreign Trade; nor is there any possible or practicable way for the Treasure of a Nation in peace, to be exhausted and exported into another Nation to any considerable and sensible degree, but by Foreign Trade.

This must necessarily happen by the excess of *meer Importation*, viz. when the Commodities imported from abroad, and spent at home, do cost more than the National gain by Trade amounts to; as suppose such yearly Importations into *England* should cost two Millions, and the National gain by Exportations or otherwise should amount but to 1500000 *l.* the *Nation* of *England* must yearly lose 500000 *l.* of its Treasure by Trade, because so much must yearly be exported by the *English* Merchants to satisfie the over-ballance.

That the *English* Trade might fall into such a Consumption, is easily and highly credible.

For suppose the utmost neat gain of our former *English* Trade amounted to but 300000 *per An.* one year with another; then if the Exportations and beneficial Merchandize of *England* should become worse by 400000 *per An.* one year with another than before, the *Nation* of *England* must lose 100000 *l. per An.* of its National Treasure, though our yearly Importations be no more in value than before; whence it appears, that by the mean

means the *same Importations* may become ex-
cessive.

So though our Exportations, and the be-
neficial part of our Merchandize, continue as
valuable as before, yet if our yearly Con-
sumptive Importations grow to be more in
value by 400000 *l. per An.* than before, the
Nation must also in this case lose 100000 *l.*
per An. by Trade.

But what if both the beneficial part of
the Trade grow worse, and also the Impor-
tations increase? Certainly this must cut
deepest on the National Stock, and must
soonest grind it out; for then if the benefi-
cial part grow worse by 400000 *l.* and the
importing part be increased 400000 *l. per An.*
value, the Nation must then lose 500000 *l.*
per Annum; or suppose but to half those
values in each, the Nation must lose 100000 *l.*
per Annum.

To accommodate these Hypotheses to *Eng-*
land; first, we may conclude, that the be-
neficial part of our Trade hath grown much
less and worse yearly, by reason of the un-
equal cloggs and difficulties on our Home
and Forreign Trade.

And that on the other side our Importati-
ons must as necessarily be increased, both by
the decay of our own former Manufactures
at home, and by our modern gawd'ry and af-
fectation

fectation of foreign Goods; and as our Trade from Port to Port hath become more impracticable to any advantage, the Exporters of our remaining Manufactures and other home-Commodities, muſt either come back empty, or elſe muſt freight themſelves homewards with ſuch conſumptive foreign Commodities, as for Gawdy, Novelty, Cheapneſs, or Lyquoriſhneſs, will dazle, tempt and bewitch our People to buy them; in which courſe of Trade our Merchants may gain conſiderable proportions of our remaining Treaſures as long as there is any in the Nation.

Nay, rather than ſit idle, they will, and do freight themſelves outwards with meer Ballaſt and *Bills of Exchange* (by which the Importation of foreign Bullion or money is prevented:) or if Bills of Exchange cannot reaſonably be had (as they uſually cannot to thoſe Countries where we are overballanced in Trade) then they export Mony and Bullion, and buy and import Conſumptive Goods which are ſpent at home; which kind of Trade deſerves rather to be called *Foreign Pedling*, than Merchandiſe.

See Mr. *Mun* of Foreign Trade, Chap. 12. *p.* 83. to 92. and that the over ballance of Trade in any particular Country, cauſes the Exchange to be high, ſo that the exporting of money ſhall ſave the Merchant 10*l.* *per Cent.* or more, as the exchange is.

It may partly be remembred here, how much the beneficial part of our Trade may be prejudiced by the loss of 100000 of our Manufactures, and what odds the same loss may produce in our Importations, since if they get but 6 *l. per Ann.* a peice, it must sink the former gain by Trade no less than 600000 *l. per Ann.*

And on the other side, that if a *Million* of Families or Persons in a Nation, do one with the other consume to the value of 20 *s.* a peece more, yearly in foreign Manufactures, Drinks, *&c.* than before, this must increase our Importations to the value of a Million *per Ann.* which I observe here to shew how imperceptibly an over-ballance of Importation may creep upon a Nation; and that the Reader may with the less difficulty conjecture at the late and present ballance of Trade in *England.*

It must also much assist this Importing Trade, if the Merchants shall export Mony, or Bullion; especially in such a Nation as *England*, where a Trade from Port to Port is not ordinarily practicable to any advantage: for in that Case the Goods Imported being spent at home, the Treasure Exported must be lost to the Nation; and as long as the English Merchant can have Bullion or Mony to Export, and can have a vent for his Importations

portations at home, his private gain will never oblige him to complain of the want of Exportable home-Manufactures, or the Clogs upon Trade, especially in *England*, where our Merchants have such a *Monopoly* of their Importations on the rest of the People.

This Consumptive Importing Trade must be of very fatal Consequence in its Nature: for first, whilest the National Stock is greater, it will exhaust the Treasure almost *insensibly*; but as the Treasure grows less and less, it will work more *palpably and grievously*, because it will consume more and more of that little which remains.

And as the National Treasure comes to be more and more diminished, the People must generally have less and less, which must cause the price of all home-Commodities and consequently *Land-Rents* to fall continually, the home Manufactures must be choaked and stifled by Importations, so that both the Farmers and Manufacturers must fling up; the values of their Stocks must be contracted, and will be eaten out by Rent, Wages and other standing charges before they are aware; men cannot provide against misfortunes which have unseen Causes: and as home-trade grows worse and worse, Industry it self must be tired and foiled, to the great amazement, as well as affliction of the People.

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For at the ſame time *Liberty and Property* may remain inviolated, many *Merchants* ſhall grow rich and ſhall be well ſatisfied as long as there is *Vanity* and *Money* at home; ſo ſhall their *Retailers* and *Saleſmen* of foreign Wares, ſuch are Mercers, Lacemen, Linnen-Drapers, Exchange-men, Grocers, Vintners and moſt others; there may ſeem to be the ſame Navigation for a time, the *Cuſtoms* muſt alſo neceſſarily much increaſe as the Importations increaſe (eſpecially in *England* where the Cuſtoms on Importations are ſo high) and by that means may cauſe a reputation and *ſound* of Trade amongſt many, when indeed ſuch a ſwelling of the Cuſtoms does denounce their growing poverty and ruine.

It may be theſe ranks of men, who ſtand not in the direct Channel of Trade, may ſeem to flouriſh for a time, as *Officers, Lawyers, Phyſitians*, and others; nay perhaps ſome *Officers* may have greater opportunities of gain during the firſt Convulſions of a growing Poverty; ſince the neceſſities of men obliging them to be more Criminous, it may for a while occaſion greater and more frequent Contuities, and a more abſolute ſubſervience; and may many Lawyers get more than ever whilſt mens Eſtates are rending to pieces, as *no doubleſs did ſome Bricklayers get Eſtates by*

the

the burning of the City) So perhaps ſickly men whilſt they can, may ſtrain hard to ſecure the *Faith* and *Care* of their *Phyſitians* with as good Fees as before, ſo ſome *Clergymen Scriveners* and *Pen-men* of all ſorts, Uſurers and ſuch others may ſeem to ſtem the torrent better than the *Landholders* and *Manufacturers*, whoſe Revenues immediately depend on the home-market, and who make up the groſs body and ſtrength of a Nation: many of theſe former rankes of men (being at eaſe themſelves) may ſeem inſenſible of the Common Afflictions, but muſt be gradually involved with the reſt.

And the ſooner, becauſe as men fling up their Farms and Manufactures, and others are diſcouraged, multitudes of thoſe that want Imployments, obſerving what other ſorts of men continue to live at ſome eaſe, will naturally and inevitably throng themſelves into the like, *viz. importing Merchandiſe, Retayling, Shop-keeping, the Law, Clergy and Prieſthood of all ſorts, Offices, Scrivening, Soliciting, and Phyſick*; by which theſe Imployments muſt be ſo over-clogged, that they will be hardly able to live by one another; vaſt numbers of others muſt betake themſelves to *Inn-keeping, Ale-keeping, Victualing, &c.* and thoſe, who have little or no ſtocks or literature, and therefore cannot

crow

crowd themſelves into ſome of theſe ways
of Livelihood muſt lye on the Pariſh, or be-
ing higher or worſe minded muſt fall to
Cheating, Canting, Shifting, Perjury, Forgery,
Whoredom, Sherking, Chipping, Coyning, Buf-
fooning, Tumbling, Pimping, Pilfering, Rob-
bery, &c. for their ordinary maintenances;
the more honeſt or induſtrious will tranſport
themſelves into *forreign parts*, as ſoon as they
have opportunity, rather than live miſera-
ble at home, eſpecially if they have an *Ire-*
land and Plantations to go to; nor is it poſ-
ſible (as I conceive) for any Laws or Pe-
nalties effectually to reſtrain the ſwelling
numbers of any of the former profeſſions,
but by opening the beneficial and Compre-
henſive Imployments of Manufactures, Farm-
ing, *&c.* nor can the daily increaſe of Ale-
houſes, or of Frauds, Perjuries and Crimi-
nals of all ſorts be otherwiſe corrected; *no*
Statutes, nay, or *Preaching*, though never ſo
learned or *florid*, can prevail with neceſſitous
men.

But the increaſe of theſe former more
Gentleman-like, Scholar-like, Retailing and
Shopkeeping-Imployments, muſt yet bring
a farther inconvenience, *viz.* a more gene-
ral *affectation of Finery and Gawdery* than be-
fore; for theſe being ſedentary and eaſie
profeſſions, will not only admit of, but oc-

casion greater curiosity in Apparel, Modes, and dresses than the active and laborious ways of living by Farming or Manufactures. And as this Gawdery grows more in use it will spread amongst the rest, and the People emulating one another, will be gawdy as long as they can, though never *so poor*; which must support and increase Foreign Importations, whilst every one is contending who shall have the *finest Foreign Livery*, so will People thus at leisure, most naturally fall into the habits of *drinking* and other ill Courses.

Too many of these symptoms of a Consumptive Trade may be generally observed in *England*; of late years any man who had but an indifferent Stock might have set himself to *Tillage*, *Grazing*, *Dairy*, *Cloathing*, *Fatling*, &c. in almost any part of *England*, and might not only have maintained his Family plentifully, but as his Sock and Ingenuity were more or less, might have left a fair Estate behind him; it was not extraordinary for a man thus employed to get an Estate of 3, or 4000 *l.* some 10, some 20, some 30000 *l.* whereas now, and of these later years these home-imployments have been the usual Shipwracks of mens Stocks and Estates in most parts of *England*, or so dull and cold that men can hardly endure to live so meanly.

Our

Our *late Wealthy Yeomanry* are impoverished, or much reduced in their ſtocks, a man ſhall hardly find three in a County able to rent 3, or 400 *l. per Ann.* they are forced to *ſink their Rents* on the Gentry continually, or elſe to fling up their Farms; much Land is fallen a fifth part, ſome a fourth part, ſome a third part, ſome to half of the late Rent, (unleſs in ſome few Countys in whoſe benefit the *Iriſh* Acts were made, and there Rents are not riſen and are now like to fall low enough:) by which continual contracting of Rents the very earth ſeems to ſhrink and conſume under us, and whilſt many of our *late opulent and mighty Gentry* ſince the general decay of their Revenues have been ſtriving to ſupport the ancient honour and dignity of their Families, they are become immerged and fettered in inextricable debts and ſecurities; great numbers of our *Clothiers* and other Manufacturers are undone, or have given up; the reſt remain under a languiſhing hope of better Markets: and multitudes of thoſe people, whoſe Labours brought Mony, Trade and Comfort to our Corporations, are now become chargeable burthens: it being computed that our *Poor* are increaſed to near ten times their late number within this laſt twenty years, and that their maintenance doth

coſt the Nation 400000 *l. per Ann.* conſtan
Tax.

On the other ſide, the increaſe of thoſ
ſorts of men, whoſe Imployments eithe
may prejudice, or elſe can add no increaſ
of Treaſure to the Nation, is very viſ
ble; by which increaſe the inconveniencie
muſt be ſtill the greater: for where the fo
reign Trade of a Nation is ſo much driven i
importations, the increaſe of *Merchants* wi
oblige an increaſe of Importation; ſo an in
creaſe of *Retailers* dealing in foreign Goods
will open a greater vent for Importations
ſuppoſe ſuch a Retailer ſells for 10 *l. per Cent*
profit, the *Nation* muſt loſe about nine penc
for every peny he gets, what then ſhall th
Nation loſe by the Trade of a Merchant o
Retailer, who by *vending Foreign Wares* ſha
get an Eſtate of 10, or 2000 *l.* over and be
ſides a profuſe maintenance? Or what wi
it ſignifie to the Wealth or Glory of a Nati
on, or City, to have many ſuch 10000 *l.* me
as theſe? Have we any reaſon to rejoyce i
ſuch a flouriſhing Trade? Theſe Retailers an
Shop-keepers, gleaning the Mony from th
People, hand it up to the *Importers*, wh
export this *Commodity in Trade* as occaſio
does require; and as our Manufactures hav
decayed, ſo have *Shop-keepers* of all ſorts in
creaſed; our Cities and Corporations ar

ſtuf

ffed with them more and more; there eing at leaſt ten times more in the Nation an were 20, or 30 years ſince.

Thus alſo have we multitudes of more *Lawyers, Attorneys, Solicitors, Scriviners, and en-men of all ſorts*, than of late years we ad; which occaſions more Querks, Tricks, nd Cheats in the Law. We have vaſtly more *Scholars and Clergy-men*, which a Late Author obſerving, thought it neceſſary to export *Tuns of Divines* inſtead of Manufacture: This does cauſe an univerſal competition for Benefices; of which the needy ainy taking advantage, make Simoniacal reſentations, and thence muſt follow perjury in Inſtitutions, and thence ſeared Conſciences; but of all other Imployments we ave the greateſt queſting after *Offices*; Men will almoſt give any thing, ſay any thing, do any thing for an Office; ſo that ſome *Offices* which were thought hardly worth he medling with of late years, will now eild near ten years purchaſe for one life; which competition hath alſo in a manner irtually repealed the Statute againſt buying nd ſelling of Offices, and obliges thoſe who uy truſts to ſell truſts. We have alſo far more Phyſitians, men of Medicine and

Author of the grounds and reaſons of the contempt of the Engliſh Clergy. *pag.* 141.

Quacks, especially *Pox-Doctors* than ever, so have we (with our poverty) far more *Finery and Gawdery*, more *Daintyness*, *Delicacy* and *Luxury*.

So have we a vast increase of *Inn-keepers and Ale-keepers* both in City and Country, by which the common-people are debauched, made impious, poor and effeminate: all which mischiefs do in union cause the vast increase of *new Buildings* in and about *London*; for most of the Offices are in *London*, or there to be gotten, there is also the ready access to Church-preferment, and the best and most easie Imployments for Lawyers, Solicitors, Scriviners, Physitians, and such others; and the rather, because the publick Taxes and Importing-trade drawing the mony up to *London*, it will there be stirring as long as we have any in the Nation; whilst the Country is left poorer and baser every day; and therefore besides these higher ranks of men, the ordinary People who used heretofore to begin upon Farming or Manufacture, hearing of *mony* in *London*, do post from the starving Country, and apply themselves to the selling of Ale, Brandy, Tobacco, Coffee, Brokery of all sorts, letting of Lodgings in or about *London*, and such like Imployments, which too commonly end in Bawdery and the Gallows, by which ther

is room made for new Comers and Tenants; I have heard it ſaid, that *Madrid* is grown much bigger and more Populous of late years.

From theſe and other ſorts of People, both in City and Country, we have more and more *Criminals* of all the ſorts and ſpecies mentioned before; our Goals are fuller and fuller, great numbers of which are yearly executed or tranſported; vaſt numbers of others have betaken themſelves to voluntary exile from this their Native Country, in hopes of a better condition, rather than to endure certain poverty or perſecution for Conſcience at home; beſides thoſe gone into *Ireland*, and the *Plantations*, there are many thouſands of Proteſtants gone from us into the *Low Countries*, into *France*, into *Germany*, and into *Poland*, where being Woollen Manufacturers, they have taught, and ſet up this Manufacture, and thereby helped to work our ruine. Theſe being of the moſt ſtrong and able part of our People, leave their Wives and Children, and other impotent and lazy People at home.

And thus ſhall a Nation be inevitably *diſpeopled*, as well as impoveriſhed by a conſumptive Trade; Nay, it ſhall hinder the ordinary increaſe of People by procreation, eſpecially in a Nation where *venereal ſins* are

become general, habitual and shameless; for the People being poor, or vicious, or both, dare not, or care not to engage in the charge or virtuous Obligations of *Marriage*, (unless here and there where a man gets a Catch with a Wife which shall be equal to an Office,) but will rather use unlawful *promiscuous Copulation*, which breeds no Children but infinite *Claps and Poxes* to the common weakning of Posterity, and present scandal of a Nation: (thus have our Women also lost their choice of Chapmen for Husbands:) how many of our most beautiful Women (which might have made good and vertuous Wives, and brought forth numbers of as beautiful Children,) are for want of convenient Matches tempted, or forced for a little mony, to sell their souls to the Devil, and their delicate bodies to lust and rottenness, nay to the Gallows, when proving with Child, the remains of their natural modesty, will not in their extremities permit them to call Witnesses of their shame whilst the *Gallants* which beget them go free and glory in their great performance.

All which mischiefs of a consumptive Trade are yet more fatal, because the growing vice and poverty which attends it, will generally bring a languor and difficulty on mens understandings; as men sink in their Estates,

Estates, their Spirits and Thoughts will be lower and narrower, and their Minds clouded with anxieties and cares, this (with the common disability of making advantages upon Forreigners in the course of Trade) leads them into a kind of unhappy *Canning*, consisting in the over-reaching of one another at home; and he will be accounted wise, who by any means can shift himself out of the common wants, nor will he think his own happiness small, (*especially if his beginnings were low*) when (like one standing on the Sands) he can behold the Shipwrack of others.

SECT. IX.

That a Consumptive Trade must render a Nation still weaker and weaker: How far the meer establishment of Absolute Power, or meer Liberty and Property, may alter the Case.

From what hath been said in the first Section and since, it must also follow, that *Consumptive Trade* must render a *Nation* still weaker and weaker.

Firstly because it must still exhaust more and more of the National Riches, and sink the value of Mens Estates.

If the value of private Stocks or Revenues be contracted, Men will be less and less able to pay publick *Taxes*; it is impossible for these that

that have no Money to pay Money, or for those that have less to pay as much as those that have more; and less Taxes must then also be more grievous than greater were before; if a Man having 100 *l. per An.* or 100 *l.* Stock, sink 40 *l. per Cent.* of his Revenue or Stock, it is equal to any direct Tax of 40 *l. per Cent.* and then if a Tax or publick Charge of 5 or 10 *l.* be super-added, it is equal to a former Tax of 45 or 50 *l. per Cent.*

It must also disable a Nation to continue the *Charge of a War*, because the quantity of Money diffused amongst the People will sooner be drawn out of the Home-Markets; and then they can no longer raise Taxes, and when the Taxes fail, what hope or dependance can there be in the courage of Officers, Soldiers, or Sea-men? or how shall the continual Supplies of Warlike Provisions of all sorts be purchased at home or abroad?

There are yet other Concomitants of a growing Poverty, which must render any Nation much the weaker, *viz. discontents, uneasiness* and *heart-burnings*, which when begun, are easily fermented into *Convulsions*, by which a Nation may be disabled to exert even its remaining strength.

2. *Perfidy* and *Treachery* amongst all sorts; needy Men are readily tempted to make Merchandize of their own Souls and other

Men

zens Lives and Estates, and those who will betray one another for Money at home, will be equally wrought upon by forreign Money, and then may be brought to barter of both Princes and Countries; for being once corrupted, they must, *like Women*, for ever remain slavishly true to the Intrigue, lest the *Gallant* should tell, of which Histories give us many sad Examples.

But in a Nation where the value of Land, or Home-Commodities, are risen 40 *per Cent.* he that had 100 *l.* Revenue or Stock, paying 40 *l.* Tax, retains what he had; and if the National Treasure be much greater, it will support the charge of a War much longer, and can hardly ever be totally exhausted, where there is a considerable Annual Increase of Treasure by Forreign Trade: This exuberance of a National Treasure will also generally support and secure the Spirit and fidelity of all sorts of Men.

It must therefore be of most dangerous consequence to a Nation impoverished by Trade, if any other neighbour-Nation hath at the same time grown much richer in Treasure, since in the case of a War it will produce the like inequality of Power, pay if any such richer Nation shall think fit to keep great Armies and Navies in pay, (though in times of Peace) so must the poorer Nation,

or

or else be devoured at pleasure; and thus may a Nation, drained by the over-ballance of Trade, be beggered, and consequently overcome without fighting, as hath been intimated before.

So if a Nation grow generally more vitious, soft, effeminate, debauched, dispeopled, and undisciplined than before, it must be much weaker than before, wherein the danger must be much greater if any neighbour Nation grow far more warlike, more populous and better disciplined than before.

In which case the better situated, more useful, strong, plentiful, and blessed the Country so impoverished naturally is, and the more it doth abound in beautiful Buildings, Women, or other delicacies, it will the more forcibly provoke the Appetite of a stronger Nation to its Conquest, the mighty *Hunters* of the World are for the most desirable prey; so if a Nation thus weakned hath formerly been famous and redoubled for Arms and War; those who affect glory by Conquest, must have the greater Ambition to vassallize its People.

From what hath been said it must appear first, That a Nation must be estimated *weak or strong by comparison*, with the strength or weakness of Neighbour Nations; if a Neighbour Nation grow ten times as strong as before

fore, the Nation which only retains its usual and former strength is *weak*; but the Case must be yet worse, if whilst the one hath grown *ten times stronger, the other hath grown much weaker.*

2. That in the present state of the World a Nation cannot grow poor by a consumptive Trade with any Security.

In such a Case the *meer absoluteness of a Monarchy* would not prevent the approaching fatality, (which I add because *Hobbs* and others call it a strong Government) absolute Power may suddenly force away that Treasure which the People have, but cannot *create* any, nor can it carry on a War, or even *support it self* without continual *vast expences*; add then when the Treasure is drawn off into the hands of Officers and Soldiers, (who pay no Taxes) it will be found, that the People (who have it not) can no more make Brick without Straw in this Age, than heretofore; and will be naturally desirous to change their Masters upon hope to be treated with less rigor.

Nor on the other side will the meer preservation of a *legal Liberty and Property* secure a Nation thus impoverished, without a concurrent improvement of Trade, for the reasons before given; the Blessings which usually attend these Freedoms wholly, or very

very much depend upon the Riches the People are poſſeſſed of.

It muſt be confeſſed theſe Freedoms make a neceſſary ſtep towards the improvement of Trade; where an abſolute Power is exerted, the conditions of Men are little better than that of Brutes, being continually lyable to Impriſonments, Death, and Confiſcations, at the Pleaſure of others; nay perhaps are worſe, by the fears and terrors Men muſt be always under, even whilſt they do not actually ſuffer; which will take away the edge and life of Induſtry, and will ruine or drive away the Merchants, and thoſe who have Stocks in Manufacture, who neither will, nor can labour all their lives for Wealth under daily expectations of loſing what they painfully get, which in this laſt Age hath obliged the *French* Monarchy to permit divers Immunities to their Manufacturers, and of late to their Fiſhers and other Maritime Traders which have now gotten the reputation of eſtabliſhed Laws; at leaſt they are ſuch as are ſatisfactory *to the French Natives*, who cannot have, nor are acquainted with better terms, and who are of themſelves ſo numerous, that they ſtand in no need of Supplies of People from abroad; and therefore of greater invitations of this nature to bring Forreigners, and the rather, becauſe the

Trade is otherwiſe ſo much eaſed and incouraged, (of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more;) ſo have the *great Dukes of Tuſcany* in this laſt Age been curiouſly vigilant to provide for the Freedom of Traders, both Domeſtick and Forreign: The *Dutch*, *Venetians*, *Hamburghers*, and other Trading States do yet farther ſecure the Liberties and Properties of their Natives, and others, under their ſeveral Juriſdictions, by fundamental and unalterable Conſtitutions.

Which being admitted, it doth not follow that a Nation which hath meer Liberty and Property, without other requiſite incouragements, ſhall drive any great Trade; we have an Example in *Genoa*, at this day, a *Republick*; where, becauſe they ſet a Cuſtom of 16 *per Cent.* on Goods Imported, they loſt their Trade of Forreign Merchandize to *Leghorne*, made a free Port by the *Duke of Tuſcany*; what then may we hope for from the meer Liberty and Property of the *Engliſh*, when in *England* the Cuſtoms are generally higher, and our other difficulties on Trade are yet more grievous than the Cuſtoms? by the Accompt we have from our firſt Diſcoverers and Planters in *America*, moſt of theſe poor Nations had a Home-Liberty and Property.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Further presumptions of our late National Over-ballance in Trade; an Account from the Mint in November 75. *and thence our former Ballance of Trade estimated.*

AS a further Evidence that our National Trade hath been *Consumptive*, and that I may silence the prevarications of some whose private Interest or Passions (which are but the fermentations of their Interests) teach them to affirm the contrary, I shall take notice of the following Accompt taken and Printed in *November* 1675. for the clearing a Debate then before a Committee of Parliament; intituled as followeth.

An Account of all the Gold and Silver Coin in His Majesties Mint within the Tower of London, *from the first of* October 1599. *being the forty first year of the Reign of* Queen Eliz. *to* November 1675. *being 76 years, divided into four parts; shewing how the Coin of this Kingdom did increase in the three first parts, proportionable to the increase of Trade and Navigation, and how much it hath decreased in the fourth part.*

Gold and Silver Coined.	*Totals by Tale.*	*Yearly Medium.*
From the first of *Octob.* 1599. to the last of *March* 1619. was Coined four Millions seven hundred seventy nine Thousand three Hundred and fourteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence; which was *per An'* two Hundred forty five Thousand ninety two Pounds Eleven Shillings & six Pence.	*l.* *s.* *d.* 4779314 13 4	*l.* *s.* *d.* 245092 11 06
From the last of *March* 1619. to the last of *March* 1638. was Coined six Millions nine Hundred thousand forty two Pounds eleven Shillings and one Peny; which was *per An'* three Hundred sixty three thousand one hundred & sixty Pounds two Shillings one Peny farthing.	6900042 11 1	363160 02 1¼
From the last of *March* 1638. to *May* 1657. was Coined seven Millions seven Hundred thirty three Thousand five Hundred twenty one Pounds		

Gold and Silver Coined.	*Totals by Tale.*	*Yearly Medium*

thirteen Shillings four pence farthing; which was *per An'* four Hundred and seven thousand and twenty seven Pounds nine Shillings one Peny ¼ penny.

l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*
7733521	13	4¼	407027	9

From *May* 1657. to *Nov.* 75. being 18 years and a half, was Coined three Millions two hundred thirty eight thousand nine hundred ninety seven Pounds sixteen Shillings and three farthings; about one Million of which was Harp and Cross Money, and broad Gold, *&c.* re-coined; which deducted, there remains but 2 Millions two hundred thirty eight thousand nine hundred ninety seven Pounds 16 *s.* three farthings; which was *per An'* but one hundred twenty one thousand 26 *l.* eighteen Shillings and four Pence.

2238997	16	¾	121026	18

The total of all Gold & Silver Coined in these 76 years, from the first of

Of

Gold and Silver Coined	Totals by Tale.					
		l.	*s.*	*d.*		
Octob. 1599. to *Novemb.* 1675. was Coined twenty one Millions eight hundred fifty one thousand eight hundred seventy six Pounds fourteen Shillings seven Pence half-peny.		21851876	14	7½		
	Yearly Increase.				*Total Increase*	
The Coin yearly increased in the 2*d* part, from the last of *March* 1619. to the last of *March* 1638. more than in the first part, one hundred and eighteen thousand sixty seven Pounds ten Shillings seven pence farthing; the Total thereof is two Millions two hundred forty three thousand two hundred eighty three Pounds one Shilling two pence.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
	118067	10	4	2243283	01	02
The Coin yearly increased in the 3*d* part, from the last of *March* 1638. to *May* 1657. one hundred sixty one thousand nine hundred thirty four Pounds 17 *s.* 7 *d.* ½, the Total thereof is	161934	17	7½	3076762	14	10½

Gold and Silver Coined.

three Millions seventy six thousand seven hundred sixty two Pounds fourteen Shilling ten pence half-peny.		
The Coin hath yearly decreased in the fourth part, from *May* 1657. to this present *November* 1675. being the last eighteen years and half, two hundred eighty six thousand Pounds ten Shillings nine pence half-peny; the total whereof is five Millions two hundred ninety one thousand and nine Pounds nineteen Shillings four pence farthing.	*Yearly Decrease.* *l.* *s.* *d.* 286000 10 9½	*Tot' Decrease.* *l.* *s.* *d.* 5291009 19 4½

This prodigious decrease of Coin in the last eighteen years, does undeniably evidence a vast decay in our Trade: but since, even in these latter years, there hath been somewhat above 120000 *l. per An'* Coined, as appears by the Account, it doth seem to administer an Objection, that still there hath been some National gain by Trade, though much less than before.

But this does not follow, for if more Money hath been exported yearly during these last eighteen years than hath been Coined, the National Treasure must be diminished: Now if we have been over-ballanced, more Money must be exported; so that it will resolve into the former Question. It

It is a vain thing to say, that the exportation of Money in *Specie* stands still *prohibited*; so is the exporting of Treasure prohibited in *Spain* under the highest Penalties; and yet because *Spain* is over-ballanced by consumptive Importations, Forreigners continually carry it away; so that were it not for their Mines, there would not have been the value of a Peny left in *Spain* many years since; nor can their *Mines* so answer this mighty *drain* by a consumptive Trade, but that the Treasures of *Spain* are drawn lower than in any Nation in *Europe*.

And therefore though the ordinary Trading with exported Money is condemnable, as that which tends to the subversion of Manufacture and People, and facilitates meer Importation; yet I cannot recommend prohibitory Laws as a means to stop the exportation of Money, unless at the same time the Methods of Trade be regulated.

'Tis now become more practicable by the Liberty given for the Exportation of Bullion, for upon any great emergency for Bullion, (as for instance) upon the going out of *an East-India Fleet*, Standard-Silver hath risen from 5 *s.* the Ounce to 5 *s.* 4 *d.* the Ounce; which being about 10 *per Cent.* must not only hinder the Coining of Bullion, but must cause our weighty Coin to be melted into Bullion, and so expotted as it hath been noted before.

And upon the like occasions 'tis observable, that Guinnies rise to 22 *s.* apiece, & broad Gold to 24 *s.* apiece, which does evince, that those who use that Trade do not confine themselves to Bullion.

So 'tis notorious to those who understand our *Northern* and *Eastern* Trades, and our Trade to *France*, the *Canaries*, *Turkey*, &c. that we yearly export great quantities of Treasure to those and other Countries, and that

we do not ſtick at *Coined Money*, being cloſely put up in Packs of Goods or Barrels, or however may be made lawful and laudable Merchandize by melting; whence it is come to be ſo commonly aſſerted a Commodity; and then if we look back and obſerve how little hath been Coined in the 18 years ſince (57) being but 121026 *l. per An.*, it muſt be highly credible, that we have exported much more Money yearly than we have Coined.

But to make the over-ballance yet more evident, it will be neceſſary to find out, if poſſible, what was the yearly Treaſure the Nation gained by Forreign Trade, at any time in this laſt Age; and in the next place, how much our Exportations and benefical part of our Trade have ſince failed, and our Importations increaſed in quantity and value.

The increaſe of Home-Treaſure muſt either be in Coined Money, or in Plate, made up for Home-uſes; for all Bullion imported muſt either be converted into one of theſe at home, or elſe be re-exported, and then 'tis not ſuperadded to the National Home-Treaſure.

Now if we look back to the Accompt from the Mint, we may conclude, that during thoſe 76 years, our Trade did never add more to our Coin yearly than 407027 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* ½ for any number of 20 years together, this being the utmoſt Medium comprized in the Accompt.

Plate Coined by the King at *Oxon*, and Parliament at *London*.

And this being in the 18 years before (57,) was not all the meer product of the Trade of theſe very years, for 'tis well known that during thoſe years we had good quantities of our own Plate Coined into Money, 'tis not poſſible for me to aſcertain how much; but if it were a Million, it ought to be deducted out of the Medium of thoſe years.

So

So during those 18 years, our Trade might yet add less to our Coined *Money*, *viz.* in case our Forreign Trade did then export any of our Coined *Money*, the like may be said of any other of the said 18 years or Mediums in the Accompt; and then must all the Money so exported be also deducted out of the Annual Gain of those years.

I believe none will expect that I should adjust the yearly quantity of Money exported by stealth in our Forreign Trade before (57,) I shall leave it to the consideration of the indifferent Reader upon what I shall add; but 'tis evident, that our Merchants did formerly use to export Money, by the prohibitory Statutes made on that occasion.

It may be also further evident, that the yearly quantity of Money so exported before 57 was considerable; for before the 76 years mentioned in the Accompt, we must have had some stock of Money in the Nation, which supposing to be but six Millions, then adding what more was Coined during the said 76 years, we must have had near 30 Millions of Coin in the Nation before 57, had none been exported; whereas no intelligent Man will say we had then half that Sum; which if doubted I shall have occasion to enforce further; and if this be admitted, the Consequence must be, that our Forreign Trade and occasions did even before 57 carry off near half as much Money as was yearly Coined; and then our National yearly Gain in Coined Treasure would not be near to the aforesaid full Mediums Coined, nor to above half the Mediums, (taking any number of years together.)

Nor can we reckon or allow of above 50000*l. per Annum* for increase of *Home-Plate*, during any of the said 18 years, considering that much Plate is always

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brought back to the Mint, or turned into Bullion, as other new Plate is made; and that at this allowance for Plate, in any twenty years time there would be a Million increase of Home-Plate in the Nation.

Upon the whole the Reader may observe what our utmost National Gain in increase of Treasure possibly might be, and upon the aforesaid grounds may deduct from any of the Mediums as he shall think reasonable, wherein I shall not pretend to confine him, though in my private Judgment I cannot estimate our utmost National increase of Treasure by Trade during any of the said 76 years to be above 250000 *l. per Annum*, or thereabouts for any twenty years together.

Considering which, if the indifferent Reader shall reflect on what hath been said in the *5th*, *6th*, *7th* and *8th* Sections, if he there find that our Trade hath been under such difficulties, as must necessarily work us out of all the parts of it, whilst our Neighbours are enabled to snatch it from us: If he there find undeniable Instances of it in some Particulars, he may for the same Reasons conclude the like in all others; and by Consequence that our National Trade long before this, became less beneficial than it was by 250000 *l. per Annum*; it hath been always found most safe to be governed by the Causes and Reasons of things, but the concurrent impoverishment of our People, and other the Symptoms, Plague-sores, and Spots of a consumptive Trade do further evidence it.

It is confessed it would be of great use, if the odds in our past and present National Forreign Trade might be certainly stated; a difficult, if not impossible task! Since it requires an antient, as well as modern experience in Forreign Trade, and not of any one Trader only, but of so many as have traded into all Parts;

of

of those that are curious, intelligent, and impartial, and have minded the *publick Interest* as well as their *own*; perhaps if a sufficient number of such as these did assemble, they might, upon debate, and with reference to their Books, bring the Compute very near the truth; but nothing of this hath been done of late; and whosoever shall promiscuously consult our Traders apart, will find them various: Then for our Custom-Books old or new, though they might be useful for some things, yet they cannot ascertain us in the odds of the Forreign values of any Exported or Imported Goods, nor of the quantity of Imported prohibited or smuggled Goods, nor (as I conceive) of our former or present Fishing-Trade, (Fish paying no Custom) nor of the gain of Carriage, nor of the Trade from Port to Port; without which the certain odds in the Ballance cannot be calculated; and therefore for my own part I rest chiefly on what hath been said; believing my self secure whilst I keep my self to the *rationali pars*, which cannot be refuted but by Reason: Whereas I am apprehensive that should I descend to examine our Ballance of Trade by the particular *effects* of the foregoing *Causes*, these being matters of *Fact*, and very many, and most of them Forreign, and of less Notoriety, may be liable to Exceptions or Cavils of particular Men, as their different Sentiments or Interests may dictate; it being as easie to deny as affirm, and as hard for many Readers to determine the truth in these matters; whereby the sincerity of the Relator may be drawn into question; and at such times, when he shall have no opportunity to defend himself: and I am not insensible, that amongst so many Facts as the nature of this Subject hath forced me to mention, (whereof I must speak much upon the credit I give to others)

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'tis impossible there may be some slips, even by the transcribing of Papers: Upon these Considerations, I had thoughts of laying aside part of the three next Sections as needless, and neglected somewhat of that Curiosity I intended, but being perused and approved by some Friends amongst the rest of these Papers, they have perswaded me to publish them as they are, upon apprehension that they will enforce what I have already said, though left so general, and will give the Reader a further useful light into the past and present nature and condition of our Trade and Nation; and since they do not bind up the Reader to precise Quantities and Values, can admit of little alteration; in which I have been the more ready to comply, upon hopes that I may awaken and spur on the *virtuous emulation* of others to a more compleat disquisition into the several branches of our Trade, and that the Reader will think me the more excusable in this and the rest I have undertaken, when he shall observe the present Subject so *Copious*, and so little laboured by other Writers, that I have no common Places or beaten Tracks to follow, as in other Studies.

This I assure the Reader, that amongst the following instances, or elsewhere, there are no wilfull or effected errors, and that I have not affirmed any thing which I do not know, but upon such Authority as I have reason to believe *highly* credible, and am confident that whatsoever mistakes in Fact the Curious may find out in what I have already said, or shall say, there are none such as do in the least impeach the *force* or *reason* of this Discourse, and then must be admitted immaterial.

To which I shall add, that by the following Essay, I do not pretend to that difficult work of adjusting the present

present Ballance of our Trade, but to evince, that the former Ballance of our Trade (as it may be computed from the aforesaid Accompt, from the Mint or otherwise) is grown consumptive in *some degree*; which I think will appear to the indifferent Readers satisfaction, upon consideration of some late decays and defalcations in our Trade, wherein I shall confine my self to such as have happened long after the beginning of the 76 years mentioned in the Accompt from the Mint, many of them within 20 years last.

SECT. XI.

Particular decays in our Exportations, and the beneficial parts of our Trade; Instances in the decay of our Foreign Trade for Woollen Clothing, in the several Countries and Ports we Traded to, in the sinking of the foreign price of this Manufacture, so of exporting Wool, in our foreign victualling Trades for Flesh, Butter, Cheese, &c. in our Irish *Trade, and* Scotch *Trade for almost all sorts of Commodities: Irish Wool increased: The Expiration of the Irish Acts will not now revest that Trade, but prejudice us more, and in what: decays in our several former and late Fishing-Trades, in our Foreign Trade for Stockings and Hats in our exports to the* Canaries, *in the Foreign Price of our exported Tyn and Lead, and the Price and quantity of exported Pewter, in our Trade from Port to Port, our former and late prejudices in our Plantation Trade, incidently of our Navigation and other things.*

I Shall begin with our Exportations, and as I shall pass from one particular to another, in this and the next Section, shall desire the indifferent Reader to put such an estimation on our losses in Trade,

Trade, as he shall think reasonable; and shall first instance in our Woollen Manufactures, as being our principal Commodity, and certainly of the most general and necessary use, (and therefore in its nature the best) in the World.

Before *Edward the third's* time the *Flemings* Manufactured our Wooll, and had the Merchandize of it, which gave the original Foundation to the former Wealth and Popularity of the *Netherlands*.

Edw. 3. observing the great advantages the *Flemings* made of our Wooll, brought over some Flemish Manufacturers, who by degrees taught the Manufacture of *Cloaths* of all sorts, *Worsted* and divers others, particularly mentioned in our *Statutes* of former times: and as the *English* more applied themselves to it, and increased ours (as soon they did) so did that of the *Flemings* decay.

For first, the *English* had the materials cheaper than the *Flemings*, not only by the odds in the carriage out of *England*, but because the raw Woolls afterwards exported were charged with great *Customs* and *Duties* to the King, as appears by the Acts and Writings of those times.

Secondly, Because the Manufacture was continually incouraged, and taken care of by Laws for that purpose, as also appears by our *Statute-Book*.

Thirdly, At that time we had none of the present Clogs on our Manufactures, which have either become so by the better Methods of Trade first contrived by the *Dutch* States, or have been grafted upon us by private or mistaken interests long since *Edw. 3ds* time. I do not find that there was any abolute *Prohibition* of exporting Wooll till the Statute of the 12th of His now Majesty, chap. 32. yet the example

of

of our cunning Neighbours now tell us, that *Prohibi-tion*, accompanied with a due Improvement of Trade at home, are not to be condemned.

The *Flemish* Cloath-trade was long since so far reduced, that we had the sole Merchandise of it, yet it cannot be denyed but the *Flemings* kept up a Manufacture of a sort of *Stuffs* and *Sayes*, (but of no great bulk) the make whereof the *English* had not been taught, till the *Duke* of *Alva* about 100 years since by his Tyranny and Persecution for Conscience, drove away their Manufacturers, whom *Queen Elizabeth* like her wise Predecessor *Edward the third* entertained, seating them in *Norwich*, *Colchester*, and *Canterbury*, whereby these Manufactures became incorporated into the *English*, to the great advantage of those parts, and of the Nation in general: they also taught us the Art of making *Tapestry*.

Before this the *English* exported great quantities of our Manufacture into *Flanders*, but doubtless more afterwards, for which we kept a rich Staple at *Antwerp*, the *Dutch* long after they became States were ignorant of this Manufacture, whom we therefore wholly supplied, exporting vast quantities of our Cloaths thither, most Whites, which were there dyed and dressed, and from these parts transmitted into the *Southern* and *South-east* Countries of *Germany*, and many other Nations: we had also the sole Trade up the *Elbe*, and thereby to the *North* parts of *Germany*, *Jutland* and *Holsteyne*.

We had the sole Trade into *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Swedeland* and *Lifland*, and to the great Territory of *Russia* (through *Dantzick*) by our *Eastland Company*, formerly very flourishing, and called the *Royal Company*.

We

We had also the sole Trade to the vast Empire of *Muscovy*.

All which Trades are sunk to a small matter, the *Dutch* having set up mighty Woollen Manufactures of all sorts, and the *Flemings* renewed or enlarged theirs, our exports to *those* parts are very much reduced.

Our *Hamburgh Company*, by whom the *North* parts of *Germany*, *Jutland* and *Holsteyne* were supplied, do not vend near half what they did, the *Dutch* and other Manufactures having prevailed upon us in those parts, both for the Finest and Courset Cloaths: what we now export to *Hamburgh* are a sort of Cloaths of between 3, and 7 *l.* a Yard, and of those not near the former quantity.

Then for our *Eastland Trade* it is sunk more, I have heard several Estimates, all near concurring with what I find in Mr. *Cokes* third Treatise of Trade, dedicated to *Prince Rupert*, *viz.* That this Company only heretofore usually exported above 20000 Broad Cloaths, 60000 Kerseys and 40000 Doubles yearly; but of late years not above 4000 Broad Cloaths, 5000 Kerseys, and 2000 Doubles. To give this worthy Gentleman his due, he hath written more materially on the present subject than any man in this Age, in which he hath not only demonstrated his deep Judgement, but his great sedulity and sincerity in the discovery of the truth, professing himself ready to make out whatsoever he hath reported, before any Judicature. There is too much reason and fact to warrant the great decay of this *Eastland Trade*, when the *Dutch* Manufacture is arrived to such a degree, besides which the *Silesia* an

Pag. 33, 34.

Pag. 112.

and *Polonian* Manufactures of Coarse Woolls are mightily increased, so that at *Dantzick*, our late great staple, we now sell so little that 'tis not worth the naming; we now trade *thither* with Treasure, whence we used to Import much; the like may be said of other Ports this Company formerly traded to.

Then for *Swedeland*, the Natives have lately set up a Manufacture there of their Coarse Woolls, as well as *Denmark*, *Livland* and *Norway*, are very much supplied by the *Dutch*, imposing greater Prices and Customs upon us for what they vend, and insisting to have Treasure of us, where before they bartered for Commodity.

To which I may add, That our late great *Muscovy* Trade is in a manner lost; the same Mr. *Coke* takes notice that the *Dutch* send 1500 Sail of Ships into the *Sound* in a year, and 40 to *Muscovy*, we do not send above seven into the *Sound* in a year, of which two are laden with woollen Manufactures, the other five with Ballast, (and are therefore to buy their foreign lading) and to *Muscovy* we hardly send two in three years; during the late War we have sent somewhat more.

We had also the sole trading for woollen Cloathing into *France*, of which we vended there to the value of 600000 *l.* yearly; but the *French* ha-

having for these later years set up this Manufacture at home, do now supply themselves; and as their own hath increased, so have they laid greater Impositions upon ours, till in (67) the *French* King set an intolerable Tax of about 50 *per. Cent*, on all our Cloathing imported into *France*, by which our Cloathing-trade to *France* became in a manner impracticable, nor have the *French* any occasion to open this Trade to us again.

This value of our exported Cloathing to *France* is avouched by our Antient Traders thither, and so asserted in the Printed Book in (77) in defence of our *East-India* Company.

We had also the sole Cloathing-Trade into *Turkey*, *Spain* and its Dominion; and it must be confessed, that we have supported our *Turkey-Trade* better than any other, much occasioned by our importation of raw Silk from those parts, for which we used to barter: but of late years the *Dutch* are great Competitors with us in the *Turkey-Trade*, (though the *English* may have had the advantage whilst the *Dutch* have been engaged in the late War;) the

French

French have been long nibling at his Trade, and both the *French* and *Dutch* largely share with us in the *Spanish Trade*.

But what is yet more grievous, we import much *Fine Cloath* from the *Dutch* yearly, and till of late great quantities of *Stuffs* and *Druggets* from the *French*, which *French* importation (only) amounted to the value of 150000 *l. per Annum*, as Mr. *Fortrey* in his Book of Trade reports; how much of these, or other *French* Goods may be imported for the future, may be guessed from what I shall say in the last Section concerning the *late Prohibition of French Goods*; in the mean time it may be observed, how far our late *Monopoly* of the Woollen Manufacture is *vanished*.

We had also the sole Trade for Woollen Manufactures to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, which Trade hath been decaying several years, because of the Competition of the *French* and *Dutch*; but of late hath been worse than ever; by reason that the Government of *Portugal* since the year 1660 hath prohibited the wearing of *English* Cloath; having set up this Manufacture of their own Woolls; we still drive a Trade thi-

ther for *Stuffs*, in which the *French* and *Dutch*, as before, are great sharers, and of late the *Portuguese* have been attempting at these Manufactures, having gotten over some of our *English* Manufacturers.

We had also the sole Trade into *Italy*, in which the *French* and *Dutch* are also sharers, besides the *Venetians*, who Manufacture and vend much Cloath in those parts.

So till of later years the *English* had the sole Trade to *Ireland* for Woollen Cloathing of all sorts, but since the late *Irish* Acts, the *Irish* have set up a considerable Woollen Manufacture of their own, for Frize and Stuffs, and now make good Cloath; or if they want, are in a great measure furnished from the *Dutch* or *French*, with whom they now Commerce; these *Irish* Manufactures increase very much.

Besides which, by the late competition of Foreigners in the Trade of Woollen Manufacture, our Cloaths have gradually and generally *sunk* in the foreign Market from their former *price and value* being (accord-

ing to the best estimate I can meet with) sold for near a third less than they were sold for within 30, or 40 years last past, taking the sales made in one Country with another; some say at less than a third; if at less by a fourth or fifth than before, this odds alone seems sufficient to turn the Ballance of our Trade; since our whole Woollen Manufacture lately exported hath been generally agreed to yeild near two Millions *per ann.* Whatever it were, our gain in this our principal Commodity must be sunk in proportion, to which must be added what we fail of the former *quantity.*

All which by a necessary sympathy is verified in the present condition of our *English* Towns and Clothiers; of which we may take one obvious instance in the Town of *Reading*; where the late number of Clothiers being about 160. are reduced to about 12, and the Poor so increased, that they cost the Town about 1000 *l. per Annum*; perhaps in some Towns where Provisions are cheaper, the Clothiers may bear up somewhat better; but he that will examine into any other of our Cloathing Towns, will find the Trade decayed in some greater or lesser degree, and will

hear the Complaints of these Clothiers, who continue in the Manufacture.

I may add, that our *exported Wooll* is sunk to about a third of its late price.

And whereas before the said *Irish Acts*, Foreign *Ships* did use to victual themselves out of the plenties of *England*, the *Irish* being being since forced to fat their own Cattle at home, and by the cheapnes of their Lands being enabled to sell cheaper than the *English*, Foreigners do now victual their Ships out of the new stores of *Ireland*, and cheaper than we can in *England*; by which we are beat out of the Trade of *Foreign Victualing*: nay, what is yet harder upon us, the very *English Ships* do now ordinarily victual from *Ireland*: this Trade of *Victualing* is also much prejudiced by our late *Act of Navigation*, which does exclude much Foreign Shipping from our Ports; and of what yearly loss this must be to the *English* Nation, and more particularly to the *English* Land-holders, I submit to Judgement.

Also the *English*, before the said *Irish Acts*, Exported vast quantities of *Butter* to *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, and into *Ireland* it self, and *Cheese* also; but the *Irish* by the Stop of Importation of lean Cattle, being put to make another Rent of their Land, have set themselves to the making of Butter and Cheese, and do not only supply themselves, but by the cheapness of their Lands do under-sell us to these Foreigners, and have therefore in a manner beaten us out of this Trade; and how much this must affect the *Dairies* and *Rents* of *England*, and what the yearly loss to *England* may amount to, I also submit to Judgment.

So before the said *Irish Acts*, *England* did furnish *Ireland* with *Hats*, *Stockings*, *Dying Stuffs*, *Hides*, *Fruit*, *Sugars*, *Tobaccoes*, *Silks of all sorts*, *Gold*, *Silver*, *and Silk Lace*, *and Ribbons of all sorts*. And before the Act of 15 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 7. Intituled, *Trade Incouraged* (by which the Importation of *Scotch* Cattle was stopt) *England* did furnish *Scotland* with *wrought Wire of all sorts*, *Haberdashers Ware*, *Hats*, *Ribbons*, *Gloves*, *Buttons*, *Bandstrings*,

Bandstrings of all sorts, Upholsterers Ware, as Hangings, Stools, Chairs, &c. all sorts of Cutlers Ware, as Knives, Scissers, Sickles, Scithes, all sorts of Slop-sellers Ware, as Stockings, Caps, course Shifts, and Frocks: By all which, the *English* Manufacturers and Nation made considerable Gain.

But the Commerce between between *England* and *Ireland*, and *England* and *Scotland*, being stopt by reason of the said Acts, the *Irish* and *Scotch* do otherwise supply themselves with these Manufactures, partly by the like Manufactures set up at home, partly by such other Foreigners with whom they now Trade: And the *Scots* upon occasion of the said Act of 15 *Car.* 2. imposed a Tax of 90 *per Cent.* on all *English* Commodities Imported into *Scotland.*

It is a hard matter to put a just Estimate of these yearly Losses; for the present I shall leave it to be computed by our *Melancholic English* Tradesmen.

By means of the same *Irish Acts*, we have also lost the Exportation of *English Hops and Beer* from the Eastern, Southern, and Western Parts of *England* into *Ireland.*

And whereas before the said *Irish* Acts, *England* was the *Storehouse* of *Ireland*, and did furnish the *Irish* with *Foreign imported Wares* of all sorts, and our *Irish* Trade did maintain above 100 *Sail of our Ships sailing between*, besides what were employed outwards with Commodities of the growths of *Ireland*; since the said Acts, the *Irish* are supplied by the *Dutch*, or other Foreign Stores and Navigation, and are much *increased in Shipping of their own*.

And as if the mischief of these Acts would never have an end, it may be further observed, they were the occasion of *Increase of Sheep*, and thereby of a vast *increase of Wool* in *Ireland*, by which the *French* and *Dutch* Woollen Manufactures are now more plentifully supported, and rather cheaper than the *English*.

And now the *Irish*, for the former Reasons, also furnish our *Foreign Plantations*, with very much of their Butter, Cheese, Clothes, and other necessaries of the growth and product of *Ireland*: Considering which, and that those of *New England*, of late

furnish the rest with *Flower*, *Bisket*, *Salt*, *Flesh*, *Fish*, &c. (all which were formerly Exported from hence) we may expect our *Plantation Trade* for *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, &c. must e're long be wholly driven with *Exported Money*, *or with foreign Goods bought with Exported Money*, since by this means, by the insufficiency of our own home-Manufactures, and the *growing Luxury* of our *Planters*, we are forced to send vast quantities thither already, particularly, *foreign Linnens of all sorts*, *Paper*, *Silks*, *and Wines of all sorts*, *Brandies*, and other things mentioned in the next Section, besides great quantities *of Wines* sent from the *Madera's*, paid by Bills of Exchange drawn on our Merchants in *Lisbon*. The consequence of the Whole is, that the loss of the *Irish Trade*, and the consequences thereof, have much assisted in the Impoverishment of the *English*, (who bear almost all the Charge of the Government) and will eat upon us more and more daily; and on the other side the *Irish*, who lately dealt so cruelly by us, and are a Conquered People, are made far richer on a suddain, and that the *Irish Lands*

do

do much rise in Rent, whilest the *English* sink.

Having given this Accompt of our direct and Consequential Losses by *the Irish Acts*, I expect to be Answered by some, That however these Acts may have prejudiced us for the time past, they are *now expired*, and that by Consequence we shall now be let into all the advantages we had before the Acts made. This I shall examine before I go further, and with that Impartiality as I think becomes an *Englishman*, without being byassed by the Situation of my Lands: which if any man does, this Consequence must appear mistaken.

For first, The Manufactures set up in *Ireland*, will still Continue to the same prejudice of ours; and 'tis highly probable (if not certain) that they will Improve, by the cheapness of their Provision and Wages.

Secondly, Having now long used to fatt their Cattle (with which they do not only continually Victual all sorts of Ships, but Forreign Towns, Armies and Nations, particularly the *French*, and those of the United Provinces, besides the Return they make by the Vent of their Hides and Tallowes) it is not to be Imagined that they will be so mad as to give up this far more profitable Trade.

Thirdly, They will breed, manufacture, and Export as much Wooll, Butter, Cheese, &c. as before.

Fourthly, These Exportations obliging them to Commerce with the *French* and *Dutch*, as before, it must be expected that they will generally still buy such Commodities as they want of the *Dutch* and *French*, and much the rather, because the *Dutch* and *French*, for Reasons before mentioned, can and will afford them much cheaper than the *English*.

What Advantages shall we then have by the expiring of the *Irish Acts*? 'tis confessed, that their Territory being large, most Fruitful, and now plentifully stored with Cattle, they may carry on their other Trades, and yet furnish us with abundant Stores of Cattle for our Money; which they already do, sending many of their Cattle near or altogether *fat*: supposing them *lean*, yet will not this Nation get 3 *l.* a year by it, but will be a yearly loser.

For the meer Importing of *Irish* Cattle, did never advantage this Nation otherwise, than as it secured the *Irish* in that base way of Trade, and from turning their National Industry into a Competition with the *English* in other Trades; during which time, what Money they received for their Cattle, they generally laid out in *London*, or elsewhere in *England*, for the Commodities I mentioned before, and others, by which *Ireland* was stored; But now I do not see how it can be avoided, but that they will carry out all or the greatest part of the Money

Money they receive, in *Specie*, which may probably be little less than 100000 *l.* *per Annum*, I conceive much more than double that Sum, Considering what Victuals and other Commodities we freight from thence in our Voyages Yearly; so that the Importing of these Cattle will not only greatly sink the *Welch* and *Northern Rents*, but all *other Rents* in a little time; which must demonstrate the further necessity of Easing and regulating our Trade equal to the *Dutch* or *French*, who will otherwise thrust us out of this Trade and all other, and will give a greater Vent to the *Irish* Commodities daily. In the mean time we may observe, that we ought not to be governed by such narrow Principles as the Situation of our *English Lands*, but by the National Interest. Lastly, I shall add, That should we suppose a Compleat restitution of our losses in and by the *Irish Trade*, Yet Considering our other defalcations in Trade, and our present Poverty, it would not restore the Ballance of our Trade, or not to any such degree, as to secure the Nation.

Our *Fishing Trade* hath decayed continually of later years; we formerly supplied *France*, *Spain*, *Muscovy*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, with great quantities of White Herring, Ling,

and Cod-fish, which Trade is now loſt to the *Dutch*, *French*, &c. We have only the Trade of *Red Herrings*, which we retain; becauſe, before the *Dutch* can bring their Herrings upon their own coaſts, they grow too ſtale to be cured for Red Herrings: and what a miſerable thing is it for our poor ſtarving Natives to ſee the *Dutch*, and other Foreigners draw ſuch Ineſtimable Treaſures out of our own Seas, and at our Doors? This Fiſhing Trade (bringing in *no Cuſtom*) was inſenſibly loſt in the purſuit of our *Plantation-Trade*, on which great *Cuſtoms* are Impoſed.

So is our *Iſeland Fiſhing* very much decayed, where we have not a fourth part of the Trade we had twenty or thirty years ſince; the like may be ſaid of our *Newfound-Land Fiſhing*; and our *Groenland Fiſhing*, where we had the ſole Trade, is quite *loſt*: the *Dutch* had far beaten us out of theſe Trades,

Mr. *Smith* cited before, reaſonably computes other Nations gain, 10000000 *l. per annum* by this Fiſhing Trade only, whereof the *Dutch* above 5000000 *l.* Mr. *Man* in 63. ſaith, It was found that all our Exported Fiſh, of all ſorts, amounted to but 140000 *l. per annum*, Pag. 184.

but the *French* of later years have ſtruck into a good ſhare of the Whole, beating out the *Engliſh* more & more; And by the loſs of our Fiſhing Trade, our National Gain muſt not only be vaſtly ſunk, but our Sea Coaſts are generally impoveriſhed to a lamentable and almoſt incredible degree, and our Nation is deprived of this great and neceſſary *Nurſery of Seamen.*

Our Foreign Trade for Woven *Silk-Stockings*, and *Knit Woollen Stockings*, is much decayed, by reaſon that theſe Manufactures are ſet up in divers foreign Countries, which (though perhaps they are not, nor for Woollen Stockings can ever be ſo good as ours) yet they greatly hinder our Foreign Vent; and our late great Trade and Exportation of Engliſh *Hats* to *Spain*, is in a manner loſt, being now moſtly ſupplied by the *French*.

Our Exportations to the *Canary Iſlands* are vaſtly ſunk in quantity and value, from what they formerly and lately were; of which I ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the next Section.

Amongſt many other Excellent Materials

Materials, we have in *England* great ſtore of *Tyn and Lead*, capable of rich and mighty Manufactures in mixture, and otherwiſe, as appears by our Imported *Tynned Plates* from *Germany*, which are computed to coſt *England* near 100000 l. *per Annum*; and then what does that Manufacture bring into *Germany* from other Countreys? This Art the *Engliſh* were never taught, but have had a Manufacture of *Pewter*, made of our Tyn and Lead, of which we made and exported far greater quantities to *Spain*, than of late Years we have done, ſince the *Dutch* and others came to ſhare with us in that Trade, ſo did we export more of it into *France* and *Holland*, in which Countreys 'tis now prohibited. We now Manufacture very little of our Tyn and Lead, but export theſe materials to be Manufactured in other Nations, to whom we are little better than the Miners; and though ſome Forreigners have lately taught us to make better Pewter than before, yet the bulk and exportation of it is much leſs. Our exported *Tyn* is ſunk more than *half* its former forreign *Price*, and our exported

ported *Pewter* above *a third*, as is also our exported *Lead*.

Perhaps more instances might be given of decayes in our Exportations of late Years, though it may be considered that we never had many Exportable Manufactures of very great bulk and value, nor in truth any but that of our Wooll; so that if we so much fail of our former gain in this Commodity, it must strike deep on our former Ballance; But much more if we also fail in so many other Exportations and Beneficial Trades.

And after these losses in our Exporting Trade, a further Estimate ought to be made of the decay in our Trade from *Port to Port*; for though the *English* never were, nor since the *Dutch* began to trade could be, considerably Masters of this kind of Trade; Yet may it be presumed, that whilst we kept the *Monopoly of Cloth*, our Merchants by the Barter and Vent of this Commodity had then more advantagious Opportunities of Buying and Selling Forreign goods in Forreign Ports; and the rather, because it not only gave the *English* an extraordinary Reputation, but a real preference in those Parts they then principally Traded to; besides, the former *Privileges* the *English* long enjoyed in *Muscovy*, enabled them to so much of this kind of Trade as related to that Empire, which advantage we have lost by the resumption

sumption of those Priviledges, whereof I shall say more.

But perhaps I may be told, That all our before mentioned Defalcations in the beneficial parts of our Trade, have been made good by the Accession of the *Plantation-Trade* in the Reign of King *James*, (being within the Compass of the 76 Years mentioned in the Accompt from the Mint) and by the Increase of it since: and I the rather expect this Objection, because this Trade remaining inclosed to the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, whether Want of other Trade are *thrust* into it, it makes a great *noise* amongst us; I shall therefore speak more particularly to it, than yet I have, that I may leave no Holes for Starters.

It may be Alledged, and must be Confessed, That this Trade hath imployed a good number of Ships, and hath brought in great Customs: but nothing of this is to the present question, being only, Whether it hath advantaged the Nation in its Annual gain of Treasure; which I conceive this Trade hath not, if ballanced with the losses the Nation hath received by it.

All the Gain *England* can or ever could receive by this Trade, must be in the Return and Result of those Commodities we import from the *Plantations*, (*viz.* Sugars, Tobaccoes, Dying Stuffs, &c.) in Exchange for so much of our

Butter

utter, Cheese, Beer, Woollen Cloaths, Hats, hoes, Iron-work, and other home-Commodi-es as we Export thither.

Now that the Labours of the same People n Fishing or Manufactures *at home* did, and ould have produced a greater Profit to the ation than these *Plantation-Commodities*, I ink no man, considering what hath been said fore, can so much as make a question. In ft our Fishing for White Herring and Cod s deserted for this Trade, and the Continual nsplanting of multitudes of our Manufa-urers and other people, hath inevitably more nd more *sunk* and *disabled* us in all Manu-ctures and home-Employments.

Then for the supposed advantage we have in e Vent of our home-Commodities to the lantations, 'tis plain they are but our own eople; and it must be undeniable, that had e same People stayed in *England*, they would ve taken off a far greater Quantity; for hereas we now furnish them with some small rt of their Victuals, we should then have pplyed them with All, *viz.* with Bread, Flesh, sh, Roots, &c. which now we do not; and ey would have taken off far more of our utter, Cheese, Cloathing, Drink, and other me Commodities, when they had them at nd, and had been put to no other shifts.

But our infelicity is yet greater; for our Planta-

Plantation-Trade (though at the best far les
valuable to the Nation than the same Peopl
and their Labours at home) is yet grown muc
worse than it was 20 or 30 Years since, an
must grow worse and worse Continually.

This must notoriously appear by what hat
been said in this Section, when b
See before. means of the late *Irish* Acts, an
for other Reasons there mentioned, we ar
forced to Export unto, and furnish these ou
Plantations with so much less quantities of ou
own, and so much greater quantities of Fo
reign Goods than formerly and lately w
did.

Besides which, by a further Improvidenc
we have lost other advantages in this Trad
Our Re-exporters being to receive back half t
Customs (which in this Trade are very mig
ty) it hath followed, that the *Dutch* comm
to be furnished with our *Sugars and Dy*
Stuffs much cheaper than the *English*, (as bei
charged not with half the Customs) have be
by that means able to set up and beat us out
the Forreign Trade of *baked Sugars*, of whi
they bake and vend above 20 times the qu
tity the *English* do; so do they now use
the greatest part of our *Dying Stuffs*, gaini
near as much, if not more, by these Manu
ctures than the raw materials yield the
glish.

Th

Then, if this Trade did originally subvert or weaken several better Trades, and besides is now less valuable than it was, instead of an Improvement, it ought to be reckoned amongst the defalcations in our present Trade.

And though it be not so direct to the present question, I shall adde, That we have little reason to boast of our *Navigation* in this Trade, when it was the occasion of the loss of a more certain and beneficial Nursery of Seamen and Shipping in our Fishery, when at the same time the Strength and Business of the Nation have been so much contracted by the loss of our People, when our Planters of *New England* having gotten a Considerable Navigation of their own, do Trade from *Port to Port* in *America*, and have in a manner beaten us out of that kind of Imployment in those Parts; and when the *Irish Shipping*, together with the growing Plenties of *Ireland and New-England*, threaten the like in the Trade of *Exportation and Importation*. To all which may be added, what we ought to expect in case the *Dutch* may retain and Cultivate *Surinam* as far as 'tis capable, since it will produce as good *Sugars and Tobaccoes* as any part of *America*, and as much as will serve the greatest part of the World, if not all.

Nay,

Nay, these *Plantations* may be Considered as the true Grounds and Causes of all our present Mischiefs; for, had our Fishers been put on no other Employment, had those Millions of People which we have lost or been prevented of by the *Plantations* continued in *England*, the Government would long since have been under a necessity of Easing and regulating our Trade; the common Wants and Cryes of our People would infallibly have obliged it; but much of the Industry of the Nation being turned this way, and the *Plantations* affording room and hopes for Men of *necessitous and uncasie Conditions*, and our Lawes mentioned in the Seventh Section, posting them away, they have deserted the Nation Continually, and left us intricated and fettered in private Interests and destructive Constitutions of Trade. And thus, whilest we have been projecting the *Increase of Customs*, we have fed our selves with the *Shadows* of Trade, and suffered other Nations to run away with the *Substance*. I am assured, that the *English* at *Jamaica* are now near, if not fully treble what they were when Sir *Thomas Muddiford* was Governour there, and then they were at least 20000; whence some Conjecture may be made at the rest.

SECT

SECT. XII.

Instances in late Increases and Excesses of our Forreign Importations, and therein of the Decay of some other of our own Manufactures which supplyed our Home-Uses, viz. *in Linnens of all sorts, more dear fine Linnens used; incidently of the late and present Huswifery of* English *Women: In Ticking, in Imported Woollen Manufactures from* Holland, France, *and* Ireland; *In Cordage, Cables, Sayls and Sea-Nets; in Iron, in Brandy, in Wines of all sorts, these risen in price; the particular odds in our former and present Canary-Trade; in Coffee, in Earthen Ware, Pitch, Tarre, Hemp, Flax, and Forreign Timber bought dearer, and far more Timber Imported: In Imported Silks of all sorts; in Laces, and many other things, and thereupon our late* French *Overballance Considered. To which Added, our late losses by the* French Capers, *and Money Exported to* France *by our Travellers, &c. The National Overballance inferred, this cleared by a Deduction of our Trade, with Relation to the* Dutch *and* French, *and therein of their gradual Increase, and our Decay in Trade; Whence the Growth of the* French *and* Dutch *Revenues and Strengths observed; a farther Calculation of our late and present Overballance;*

lance; incidently of some farther Advantages in Trade Forreigners have upon us.

IN order to take a right Measure of the *Overballance*, it is observed in the Eighth Section, That if the beneficial part of our Trade become worse, & the Consumptive Importations increase, it will sooner induce an Overballance, and will cut deepest on the National Stock of Treasure.

Now it will much evidence the Increase of our Importations, if any of our own Manufactures which are of necessary Use at home, are lost, or impaired in any Considerable degree of later Years, because, the People must be then supplyed by the like Forreign Goods, to a greater degree than before.

I shall first instance in *Linnen*, lately a Considerable Manufacture in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and the Parts adjacent; it was also the Huswifery of our *English Ladies*, *Gentlewomen* and other *Women*; which general Employment of our *Women*, (although most designed for the private Uses of Families) did keep very many Thousands of Linnen Looms at work in *England*, and did supply the greatest part of our National occasion for Houshold and Course Linnens of all sorts.

But all this Manufacture of *Linnen* in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and elsewhere, is now in a manner

manner expired; and the Huswifely Women of *England* now employ themselves in making an ill sort of Lace, which serves no National or Natural Necessity; most of the rest spend their times much worse, or are *idle*, bringing a Scandal on themselves and their Families; so that there is hardly a working Linnen Loom left in a County: which Idleness and Unprofitable living of our *Women*, gives the *Dutch* a farther great Advantage upon us, whose *Women* are mainly serviceable in Trade.

And hence hath followed a great Increase of Forreign *Imported Linnens* from *Holland* and *Germany*, *Dantzick*, &c. much of which since the Decay of our Cloth-Trade into those Parts, we buy for Money, Bullion, or by Bills of Exchange, besides a prodigious Increase of *Imported Linnens* from *France*, which of later Years hath been estimated to cost the Nation at least 500000 l. *per Annum*, which must now be supplyed from other Forreign Parts, and dearer, if our new Prohibition be observed. It hath also occasioned a far greater Home-Consumption of *Indian Callicoes*, &c. bought with Money; and the rather, because the *English* of all sorts use more Linnen than ever, in

their Apparel, Beds, Curtains, Hangings, &c.

This Importation of Linnen is also become far more chargeable, by the more general Use of Dear *Fine Hollands*, and other *fine Forreign* Linnens of great Value; which till of late Years were only worn by some People of Quality, and by them very sparingly.

Thus also is our Manufacture of *Ticking* in *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire* much impaired, and much more Forreign Ticking Imported: Such is our Importation of Linnen, that at this day an *English* Linnen-Draper who deals for 8000 l. *per Annum* in Linnen, doth hardly sell 200 l. *per Annum English* of all sorts. Suppose all the People in *England* one with another bestow 5 l. a piece more in Forreign Linnen Yearly, than they used to do; what a Vast Summe must this amount to? And this being of so Universal Use, how soon may the Increase of this Importation alone turn the *Ballance* of the *English* Trade? There is hardly any Nation in *Europe* but hath a Manufacture of Linnen, at least for Home-Uses, except *England*; from *Scotland* we have much and in *Ireland* it is a growing Manufacture much encouraged.

T

To this may be added the New Importation of *Woollen Manufactures*, viz. *Cloths*, *Stuffs*, and *Druggets* from *Holland* and *France*, of a great yearly value, mentioned in the Eleventh Section, but proper to be remembred here.

And it ought not to be forgotten, that no sooner had the *Irish* learned to make *Frize*, but presently *Irish Frize* became a great fashion in *England*.

Our Manufactures of *Cordage for Ships*, *Cables*, *and Sea-Nets*, are also much decayed from what they were, much occasioned by the late dearness of Imported Hemp and Flax, as hath been intimated before, and we are therefore forced to import much more of these Commodities from the *Dutch* and *French*; *the Act of Navigation not Prohibiting the Manufacture*; which is worthy to be observed.

There hath been a great Increase of imported *Iron* from *Swedeland*, *Flanders*, and *Spain*; by this means many Iron-Works are laid down already in *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey*, and elsewhere; and the rest must suddainly follow (if the Importation continue,)

which will bring at least 50000 Families in *England* on the Parish-Charge, and must sink the price of all the Woods now employed for Iron-Works to little or nothing. Imported Wire hath already beat out our home-Manufacture of Wire.

Our *English* Distillations of *Strong Waters* of all sorts, did formerly serve the National Uses, but of late years, our People at home, and Mariners abroad, have been supplied with Imported *Brandy* from *France* and *Germany*, which being hardly known in *England* within less than 20 years, hath of late cost the Nation above 100000 *l. per Annum.* } 000000

So hath the Importation of all sorts of *Foreign Wines*, vastly increased of later years, especially out of *France*. We have also bought *French* Wines *dearer* than formerly, and have bought them with our *Money*, *Bullion*, or by *Bills of Exchange*; but formerly with *our Exported Commodity*. } 000000

Besides which, we have vast quantities of Imported *Spanish Wines*,

which

which till of late years, we also Purchased with our *exported Commodities*, at the rate of 10 *l. per* Pipe, but now at about 20 *l. per* Pipe, and mostly with *Money*, *Bullion*, or *Bills of Exchange*; so that 'tis Computed that of later years it hath cost *England* near 200000 *l. per Annum*, in Imported *Spanish Wine*, over and above the value of our Commodities Exported to the *Canaries*.

So, even *before the stop of French Wines*, we had very much more *Portugal* and *Rhenish Wines* Imported and consumed at home than ever; besides *Italian*, *Greek*, and *Smyrna* Wines; if the Importation of *French Wines* continue prohibited, we must expect as much more of these and *Spanish Wines* as will answer our present General Debauchery: many of these Wines were hardly *known* in *England* of late years, and the rest far more sparingly drunk; but our Imported Wines do now in the Whole cost the Nation the greater part of a Million *per Annum*.

The Canary Wines are computed at about 13000 Pipes yearly, which at 20 *l. per* Pipe, amounts to 260000 *l. per Annum*; and that our Commodities Exported thither, do amount to about 65000 *l. per Annum*.

Thus do we *swallow and piss* out inestimable Treasures, and contemn our own excellent and more wholsom Drinks, which might be improved to a much greater Perfection, both for our Use at home, and Trade abroad; and whilst every one is an Ambitious Pretender to a Critical Palate in Wine, and is ready to impeach the Guilty Drawers for *Mixtures*, *Molossus*, and *Arsenick*, we are contented to let our Brewers abuse our own Liquors as they please.

And as if the *English* could affect every thing because it is Foreign, we have also a new chargeable Importation of *Coffee*, which of all others seems to be most useless, since it serves neither for Nourishment nor Debauchery. } qqqqqq

We have also had a vast Increase of imported *earthen Ware* from *Holland*, most of it made of *our own Earth and Lead*. } qqqqqq

To these ought to be added such other *Importations*, as are now bought much *dearer* than *formerly*, spoken of before, but fit to be remembred here: Such are *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, and *Timber* from *Norway* and *Liefland*, being also mostly bought *with Money*, since the decay of our Cloth-Trade into those Parts; and of these the } qqqqqq

yearly

yearly *quantity* of *imported Timber* of all ſorts is vaſtly *increaſed* of later years, by reaſon of the Decay of our *Engliſh* Timber; ſo that we are overballanced in our Trade for theſe Commodities ſeveral 100000 *l. per Annum.*

Nay our ſo much boaſted *Turkey Trade* is ſo far infected by the general Diſeaſe, that we now yearly Export almoſt as much *Treaſure* to *Turkey*, as the value of our Cloth Exported thither amounts to. Of late years we Exported little or no Treaſure thither; Nay, I have heard that formerly we Imported Treaſure thence. In Exchange for the Treaſure and Cloth now Exported, the principal Commodity we Import is *raw Silk*, this 000000 ſerves our own Silk Manufactures moſt conſumed at home, except Silk-Stockings, for which our chief remaining Foreign Markets are *Cales* and *Hamburgh*. This Cloth-Trade depending on the vent of Imported Silk at home, is already conſiderably checked by the continual Increaſe of *Imported raw Silk* from the *Eaſt Indies*, where our *India Company* buy it with *Exported Treaſure*; this year

they

they here Imported more than ever. This laſt Sale they expoſed to be ſold no leſs than 563 Bales of Raw Silk.

The *Engliſh* formerly wore or uſed little Silk in City or Countrey, only Perſons of Quality pretended to it; but as our National Gaudery hath increaſed, it grew more and more into Mode; and is now become the Common Wear, nay, the ordinary Material for Bedding, Hanging of Rooms, Carpets, Lining of Coaches, and other things: and our *Women*, who generally govern in this Caſe, muſt have *Foreign Silks*; for theſe have got the Name, and in truth are moſt curious, and perhaps better wrought, as being moſt encouraged. Of the ſame humour are their Gallants, and ſuch as they can influence; and moſt others. Our ordinary People, eſpecially the Female, will be in Silk more or leſs, if they can; though never ſo plain, ſtained or tattered: Whence hath followed a vaſtly *greater Importation, and home-Conſumption of the dear Silk-Manufactures* from *Venice*, *Florence*, *Genoa*, *France*, and *Perſia*, and of late from *Holland*; where they have improved their Silk

Manufacture

Manufacture to a considerable bulk and perfection. This our Affectation and Use of foreign Silks having apparently much increased, within about Twenty or Thirty years past, must produce a great Odds in the Ballance, and besides hath much contracted the *home-vent* of our *Woollen Stuffs and Cloths*, and *Beggared our own Silk-Weavers*. And it may be here taken notice of, as one of the mischievous Consequences of our present *Importing Trade*, That our Merchants to preserve their *only* home-Market, must bring in such curious and serviceable Foreign Manufactures as will beat out our own. This Importing Trade agrees well with our Shop-keepers, who can get more by Foreign Commodities, (of which few or none know the Prices but themselves, and the Merchants.)

We have also of late a very chargeable *Importation of Laces* from *Venice* and *Genoa*, but most of later years from *France*, all which are commonly called *Points de Venice*, amounting to a vast Sum yearly.

Of All others our late *Overballance* in the *French Trade*, hath been most Prodigious; and such

ſuch have been the Arts to attain it, that it would require a particular Treatiſe by it ſelf: But it will be neceſſary to what I have undertaken, to give ſome brief Accompt of it, and in what it did conſiſt; and the rather, that ſomething of the Variety of the *French* Exportable Manufactures and other Goods may Appear. I ſhall begin with what Mr. *Fortrey* reports in his Book twice Printed, and Dedicated to his *now Majeſty*, and therefore I preſume of good Authority.

In *Anno* (63) and (73)

He tells us, That upon a Jealouſie the *French King* had conceived of the Ballance of the *Engliſh* Trade, there was an Eſtimate thereof given in to the *French King*; whereby it appeared, that there was yearly Exported of *French* Goods by the *Engliſh*, to the value of 2500000 l. *Viz.*

1. In Velvets plain and wrought, Sattins plain and wrought, Cloth of God and Silver, Armoſynes and other Merchandizes of Silk which are made at *Lions*, of a great value.

2. In Silk-Stuffs, Taffeties, Poudeſoys, Armoſyns, Clothes of Gold and Silver, Tabbies plain and wrought, Silk Ribbands and other ſuch like Silk-Stuffs as are made at *Tours*.

3. In Silk Ribbands, Galloons, Laces, and Buttons of Silk, which are made at *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Chaimant*, *S. Eſlieres* in *Foreſts*.

4. A

4. A great quantity of Serges, which are made at *Chalons*, *Chartres*, *Eſtammes*, and *Rhemes*; and great quantities of Serges made at *Amiens*, *Crevecoeur*, *Blicourt*, and other Towns in *Picardy*.

5. In Bever, Demicaſter, and Felt-Hats, made in the City and Suburbs of *Paris*, beſides many others made at *Rouen*, *Lyons*, and other places.

6. In Feathers, Belts, Girdles, Hatbands, Fans, Hoods, Masks, gilt and wrought Looking-Glaſſes, Cabinets, Watches, Pictures, Caſes, Medals, Tablets, Bracelets, and other ſuch like Ware.

7. In Pins, Needles, Box-Combs, Tortoiſe-ſhell-Combs, and ſuch like.

8. In Perfumed and Trimmed Gloves, that are made at *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Clendoſme*, *Clermont*, and other places.

9. In Papers of all ſorts which are made at *Auvergne*, *Poictou*, *Limoſin*, *Champaigne*, and *Normandy*.

10. In all ſorts of Ironmongers Wares that are made in *Forreſts*, *Auvergne*, and other places.

11. In Linnen Cloth that is made in *Britany*, and *Normandy*, as well Courſe as Fine.

12. In Houſhold-ſtuff, conſiſting of Beds, Matreſſes, Coverlids, Hangings, Fringes of Silk, and other Furniture.

13. In

13. In Wines from *Gascoigne*, *Mantois*, and other places on the River of *Loyer*, and also from *Burdeaux*, *Rochel*, *Nante*, *Rouen*, and other places.

14. In Aqua-vitæ, Cyder, Vinegar, Verjuice, and such like.

15. In Saffron, Castle-Soap, Honey, Almonds, Olives, Capers, Prunes, and such like.

16. Besides 5 or 600 Vessels of Salt loaden at *Maron*, *Rochel*, *Bovage*, and the Isle of *Oleron* and Isle of *Rhee*.

But that the Commodities *Imported* out of *England* into *France*, consisting chiefly of Woollen Cloathes, Serges, Knit Stockings, Lead, Pewter, Allom, Coals, and all else did not amount to above a Million yearly, which left the overballance 1600000 l.

'Tis true, that since this there was an Estimate of the *French* Overballance taken in *England* by some *English* Merchants, from the Entries of the Port of *London*, by which it was computed, that the *French* Overballance amounted to about a Million; This was presented by our Merchants to our Lords Commissioners upon a Treaty of Commerce with *France* in (74.) (which came to no conclusion) and afterwards to the *Parliament*; which seems to impeach the Estimate of the *French* Overballance reported by Mr. *Fortrey*, as to the *Quantum*.

This

This I need not contend, since if the *French* Overballance had been no more than a Million, it was enough to impoverish us, considering our Importations from other Forreign Nations; but that I may not totally desert Mr. *Fortrey*, I shall take notice, that this *English* Computation was taken from the Entries of the Port of *London* only, from whence there may not be any so Just a calculation for all the rest of our Ports; and that the Entries do not comprehend any of those *French* Commodities which were prohibited by our former Laws, and are therefore Imported without Entry, which are accompted to amount to some Hundreds of thousand pounds yearly, perhaps near to another Million. But on the other side, that the *French* Entries must be certain as to the Exportations from *France*; that Mr. *Fortrey* would not be willing to falsify with *His Majestie* of *England*, nor the *French* Ministers with the *French King*, in a matter so important.

Nor is it to be thought that our Importations from *France* decreased in quantity or value since Mr. *Fortrey* wrote, to the time of the Prohibition, but rather increased; whereof our Merchants then gave an instance in *Wines and Brandies*, from the Entries of the Port of *London*, as followeth:

'From *Mich.* 1663. to *Mich.* 1664. There was Imported into the Port of *London* 6828

'Tuns

'Tuns of French Wine, and then the quantity 'of Brandy was ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, 'that it deſerves not to be noted.

'From *Mich.* (67) to *Mich.* (69) There was 'Imported into the Port of *London* in the ſaid 'two years, 17000 Tuns of French Wine, and 'of Brandy about 3000 Tun.

'From *Mich.* (72) to *Mich.* (74) Was Im- 'ported into the Port of *London* 22500 Tuns 'of French Wine.

'From *Mich.* (71) to *Mich.* (73) Was Im- 'ported to *London* 7315 Tuns of Brandy.

'From *Mich.* (73) to *Mich.* (74) Was Im- 'ported to *London*, as near as can be computed '5000 Tuns of Brandy, and every Tun of 'Brandy conſuming about 5 Tuns of Wine 'makes the quantity of 25000 Tuns of Wine.

This I the rather take notice of here, becauſe from hence it doth alſo appear, that the Additional Impoſitions on French Wines and Brandies by our Parliament in (67) did not make the Importation of them leſs tolerable or practicable than before, and therefore were only Impoſitions on the Engliſh Subject.

Nay, the *French* have been able to *raiſe* the Prices of *their Wines* and *Brandies* upon us even ſince (67) as the ſame Merchants repreſented. For,

'In (67) Langoon Wine in *France* was not 'above 43 Crowns *per* Tun, clear aboard.

In *Anno* (68) the price was——47 Crowns.
In *Anno* (69) ——————54 Crowns.
In *Anno* (70) ——————52 Crowns.
In *Anno* (71) ——————55 Crowns.
In *Anno* (72) ——————50 Crowns.
In *Anno* (73) ——————56 Crowns.
In *Anno* (74) ——————70 Crowns.

And all ſorts of Clarrets are riſen double the price, ſince the year (67).

So ſaid the Merchants in the year (74) and whoſoever will take the pains to look into the Cuſtom-Books, will find a mighty Increaſe of Imported French Wine and Brandy ſince (74) to the time of the Prohibition; and that, for ſeveral years laſt paſt, our Importation of French Linnen, Silks, and other Commodities, have alſo continually grown upon us, whereof we have an infallible Evidence in the Continual Riſing of our Cuſtoms.

I have heard that the quantity of French Wines Imported in 1676. made about 36000 Tuns of Wine, and that about the years (50) (51) and (52) the quantity yearly Imported was about 3000 Tuns of Wine.

But on the other ſide, the *French Policies* have been as induſtrious to ſuppreſs our *Engliſh Trade*, upon which they have gradually impoſed more and more Taxes, and at laſt ſo great, that it amounts to a Prohibition; as may be Inſtanced in our Woollen Manufacture.

'In the year 1632, the Duty on an English
'Broad Cloth Imported into *France*, was
'6 *Livres*.
'In *Anno* (44) it was raised to 9 *Livres*.
'In *Anno* (54) to 30 *Livres*.

'In *Anno* (64) to 40 *Livres*, and yet did the
'English continue to Export considerable
'quantities of our Woollen Cloathes into
'*France*.

'But in *Anno* (67) being after Mr. *For*
Mr. *Fortrey* first Printed his Book in (63)
'*trey* wrote, it was raised to
'80 *Livres*, which is about
'50 *per Cent*.
'A piece of Serge in *Anno* (32) *per* 1 *Livre*.
'In *Anno* (54) 5 *Livres*.
'In (64) 6 *Livres*.
'In (67) 12 *Livres*, which also amounting
to about 50 *per Cent*. was equal or worse than
an expres Prohibition; so that all our Expor
tations of our home-Commodities to *France* in
the year 1669. amounted but to 171021 *l*. 6.
as it was Calculated from our own Entries (
my Copy be true.)

It will not be a Digression to shew how In
dustrious the *French* Policies have been to sup
press our Trade to other Nations.

It is now about five years since that our Merchants, observing the *Dutch* & other Neighbour Nations to be in War, but ours in Peace; they had now golden hopes of driving a mightier Forreign Trade than ever; for which purpose they thought it convenient to buy many *Dutch-built* Ships, and somwhat the rather because they had lost many Ships in the late War: But the Act of Navigation standing in their way, they obtained His Majesties License for it.

Mr. *Mun* of Forreign Trade *pag.* 149. Notes, 'That all the great Losses 'we receive at Sea in our 'Shipping, either outward or homeward 'bound, ought to be 'considered in the Ballance; for the value 'of the one is to be 'Deducted from our Exportations; and the value of the other from 'our Importations.

But thereupon, there presently came out a *French Edict* for the seizing of all *Ships bought in any Enemie's Country*, which did discourage many of our Merchants from buying any Ships, yet many were bought and escaped safe to our Ports; these and many *English* Ships our Merchants forthwith freighted and sent out, in prospect of a swelling Trade, and vast Returns of Treasure.

But immediately there came out swarms of *French Capers*, who seized on those Dutch-built Ships, though they had all necessary Passes; and from thence, finding the sweetness of it, they fell to taking of our *English-built Ships*,

on pretence they carried Enemies Goods, whereof they themselves would be the Judges, and did actually seize all sorts of *English* built Ships, laden meerly on the account of *English* Merchants, they took meer *English Coasters*; nay, they *retook* many of our Ships which had been actually *discharged* in *France*; they plunder'd our Ships, and grievously beat and wounded our generous Seamen (who never before dream't of any thing but the Sovereignty of the Sea) and killed many.

Then were our Ships carried into the *French* Ports, and our Merchants put to prove the property of their own Ships and Goods before *French Judges*, in the new erected *French* Admiralties, by a long and tedious proceeding; by which, and also in the *French* Court, and by the *Treachery of their own Agents*, they were put to vast Expences.

There were about 400 Sail of our Merchants Ships seized in this manner, many of which the *French* thought fit absolutely to condemn; and such as were released were kept, some three Months, some six Months, some twelve Months, and some longer, and then were Discharged with great Damage, by Plunder and Expence in *France*, besides the first Violences; and after all, lost the intended Fruit of their Voyages, of which, doubtless the *French* were very sensible: And what is yet worse, the *French King* making the utmost advantages of

every

every thing, got Thouſands of our Seamen by extraordinary Pay, to engage in his Service, to which he doth ſtill indear them by Money, and all imaginable encouragements.

All which being done in times of Peace, could only be intended to impoveriſh and diſable our Merchants Trade and Nation, notwithſtanding their pretence of carrying Enemies Goods; this is evident as well from the *ſaid Edict*, and from the Nature of the whole Tranſaction, as by another *Edict* ſet forth by the *French* King about the ſame time, giving Liberty of Trade to any Nation (without exception) that would take *French* Paſſes; for it being foreſeen that the *Engliſh* would not take any, becauſe of the *Engliſh* Claim to the *Sovereignty of the Seas*, it left other Nations then at enmity with *France*, at Liberty to take Paſſes, and by Conſequence to Trade; who accordingly did, and traded without controul, particularly the *Dutch*: So did the *Swediſh* Ships at the ſame time openly Trade *to and from Holland*, and other Countries then at *enmity with France*; without any Diſturbance from the *French* Capers.

This might adminiſter further Conſiderations; I ſhall only at preſent accommodate it to the Matter in queſtion, being the *Overballance of Trade*; which muſt needs have been the higher upon us, as our Merchants

received more Injuries and Losses of this Nature.

To this I shall add, that it is an incredible Sum of Money which our English *Gentlemen and Travellers* of all sorts spend yearly in *France*, to learn unprofitable Apish affected *French* Fashions, and Modes in their Carriage, Talk, Cloaths, Eating and Drinking. It is below any of these *English Mounsieurs* to enquire into the *Trade* of *France*; This Expence is not near ballanced by the Expence of the *French* Travelling Gentry, or others in *England*; the *French* that come hither, being ordinarily such as come to *get Estates* by vending *French* Manufactures, Wines and other Commodities, Dancing, Cookery, *&c.* and when they are grown Rich, do generally Transport themselves, and their Estates into *France*, and so Spirit away our Wealth.

Here may be added the vast Sums and Riches which already are, and Annually will be Transported by Papists to *France*, and other Parts; but principally to *France*.

Many of these Losses by the *French*, being not comprised in the former instances, require a further ample Valuation.

I believe other instances may be given of the late Increase of our Importations, our National Luxury and folly being such, that our Merchants find

find a home-Vent for almoſt all ſorts of Foreign Goods and trifles in the Univerſe: Theſe I leave to be added by the obſervation of others.

In the mean time, conſidering what the utmoſt gain of our Trade might be, during the 76 years mentioned in the Accompt from the Mint, it muſt be evident from what I have already ſaid, that we have been *Overballanced* many 100000 *l. per Annum*, of later years. The Particulars I have mentioned in this, and the laſt Section, being ſuch as have happened, or worked more ſignally and vigorouſly upon us during the years mentioned in the ſaid Accompt; which (that I may prevent Alterations) I ſhall endeavour to clear, by a brief *Deduction* of our Trade during the ſame 76 years, which I cannot do without ſome Relation to the *French* and *Dutch* Trades; of whoſe *Riſe* and *Growth*, and their Conſequential Increaſe of *Strength* and *Power*, I ſhall therefore alſo give ſome Accompt.

I ſhall begin with that of the *Engliſh*:

Before the *Dutch* were cemented into States, the *Engliſh* had far greater Advantages in Trade than any Neighbour Nation, by *the greater Plenty of our more excellent Oak-Timber, Victuals, Numbers of Seamen, home-Materials of Manufacture, our great Woollen-Manufactures, our Fiſhery, and other our valuable*

Commodities mentioned before: Beſides the *German*, *Flemiſh*, and *French* Trades. That of the *Sound*, and *Streights*, our Adventurous Merchants and Mariners in *Edw.* the Sixth's time Diſcovered the North-Eaſt Paſſage by Sea to *Muſcovy*, which Trade was before driven by the Merchants of the *Hans-Towns* a-croſs the *Baltick*: Such was our good ſucceſs, that by the great Commerce our Merchants brought and by the Embaſſies and Applications of our ſucceeding Princes, eſpecially Queen *Elizabeth* the *Czar* granted them a *Free Trade* at his Port *Archangel*, (that is) without paying any *Impoſt*; which he would not grant to others whereby the *Engliſh* became poſſeſſed of the whole Trade of a great Advantage; beſides which, our Woollen-Manufactures were not a little improved in Bulk and Value, by means of thoſe *Flemmings* or *Walloons* driven out by the Duke of *Alva*, and entertained by Queen *Elizabeth*; ſpoken of before.

In this Condition was our Trade when the *Dutch* United Provinces came to a Settlement being about 90 Years ſince; the *Dutch* here upon found themſelves obliged to ſtudy all Imaginable wayes of Gain by Trade; For the People driven into theſe Provinces by the *Spaniſh Tyranny and Perſecution for Religion*, were very *Numerous*, the Countrey very *narrow*, and yielding little of the *Neceſſaries of life*, and

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the Long and Continual Charge of their War with *Spain* very great; from which *Neceſſity* followed much *Contrivance* and *Induſtry*, and thence thoſe *Arts and eaſie Methods of Trade* which have wrought ſo great Changes in moſt Parts of *Europe*, if not throughout the World.

Firſt there followed theſe Alterations in the *Trade* of *Europe*; the *Dutch* fell into a mighty Trade or Employment of *carrying and dealing from Port to Port*, far beyond what was ever uſed in theſe Parts before; which Trade they engroſſed, beating out the *Antwerpians*, *Engliſh*, and all others, Except in what related to *Muſcovy*, (ſecured to the *Engliſh* by our Privileges there) and what related to *Spain* during their Wars with that Crown; the *Portugueſe*, having before found out the way by Sea to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and having by that cheaper paſſage beat the *Venetians* out of that Trade, and planted mighty Factories and Forces in the *Indies*; the *Dutch* before, the Year 1600, being informed of the Riches of that Commerce by one *Cornelius Houtman* a Fugitive from the *Portugueſe*, engaged in a Trade thither, and in the Year 1602, by the Authority of their Union, eſtabliſhed their *Eaſt-India* Company; who upon their original Fund, being 600000 l. *Sterling*, made ſo great a progreſs in that Trade, that beſides ſeveral Conſiderable Dividends before made, upon a Compute

pute in the Year 1608. their Stock was increaſed to Three *Millions Sterling*: and in this great Carriere very ſpeedily ſupplanted the *Portugueſe* in this Trade; their ſucceſs was little leſs in the Fiſhing Trade for *White Herrings*, *Ling* and *Codfiſh* on the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, which they extended beyond what we ever did, incroaching daily on the *Engliſh*, being enabled thereto by their more eaſie Methods of Trade; and the *Engliſh* the more diſabled by our Application to the Plantation-Trade in the time of King *James*, whereof the Wiſe Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by the *occaſion* of his Travels, taking notice, about 60 years ſince gave a Caution of it to King *James*, ſhewing the Reaſons, and proving that the *Dutch* then got 1372000 l. *per Annum* Sterling by this Trade, by the Accompts he took at ſeveral Ports, (and yet he mentions not their Trade in the *Streights*, and but one Port in *France*, viz. *Roan*:) notwithſtanding which, the *Dutch* ſtill getting advantages upon us, had near beaten us out before the end of King *James* his Reign; and ſoon after became Compleat Maſters of it.

Thus was this our *Fiſhing-Trade*, of great and certain Profit, and of high Importance for the Support of our Navigation and Coaſts, ſupplanted; in the place of this, we had our *Plantation-Trade*, of which having ſpoken ſo much before,

before, I ſhall ſay no more, than that it brought *in great Cuſtomes*: Yet, not forgetting, that *King James* ſucceeding Queen *Elizabeth*, (who to reduce the late portentous greatneſs of the *Auſtrian* Family, had ſupported the *Dutch*) made a Peace *with Spain*, which gave the *Engliſh* a particular Advantage in the Trade of *Spain* for a time, *viz.* till the *Dutch* made a Peace with that Crown; and ſince that hath continued a very beneficial Market for many of our Commodities, being there vended for ready-money: Our Trade to *Muſcovy* remained ſecured to us by our Privilege there, and our Clothing Trade by our Wooll, and the ignorance of other Nations in that Manufacture. We had a remaining Fiſhery at *Groenland*, *Iſeland*, and *Newfoundland*; we continued ſome other Exports of leſſer Note mentioned before; but the Woollen-Manufacture being our chief Jewel, we kept the Monopoly of it during the Reign of *King James*, and for the greateſt part of the Reign of *King Charles* the Firſt, and generally raiſed the prices; by all which, and for that our *Imports* were leſs than of late they have been, the Ballance of our Trade, during the Reigns of theſe Princes, was kept up to the degree, we may Compute it by the Accompt from the Mint, which though ſomewhat, was but a *narrow ſcantling*, conſidering how prodigiouſly the *French* and *Dutch* Trades were impro-

improved and grew up *by us* continually; ye have we ſince loſt, or much Impaired all the principal Advantages in Trade, as I have alre dy ſhewn.

Before I ſhew how theſe Limbs of our Trad became ſo much diſabled, it will be neceſſary t obſerve *what Influence* the *Dutch Trade* had u on the *French*.

All the *Exportable Commodities* of any No the *French* formerly, and till this laſt Age pr tended to, were *Corn*, *Wine*, and *Salt*: when of that of Corn was as Conſiderable as any the other two being but ſparingly Exported, leaſt in Compariſon of what have been Vende of late Years: beſides theſe, they had *Skin Tallow, and Woad*, and ſome Fruits of little Co ſequence; which whole Trade could bring no great matter.

But the *Dutch* being ravenous after Trad and like Bees thruſting themſelves into ever Creek and Corner for Commodities to ſe again, and barter away for Profit, preſenti gave a far mightier Vent to the *French Wine* with which they not only plentifully ſupply moſt other Nations, but drank good ſto themſelves, being their principal Home-C *ſumption*; of *Salt* they took off yet great quantities, not only for preſent Merchandiz but to uſe in their prodigious Fiſhery. As t Vent of theſe grew greater, more were provi

d in *France*; hence alſo did their *Infant*-Manufactures of Linnen, Silk, Paper, Brandy, nd thoſe Numbers of others enumerated by Mr. *Fortrey*, and doubtleſs many more, grow p to *Gyants*; the hungry *French* taſting the weet of the Gain, did not fail to ſupply this uſie People, though doubtleſs not without the Conduct of an extraordinary Wiſdom; Since is apparent, that the *Dutch* manner of Trad- g made the ſame Overtures to ther Neighbour Nations; the viſe Sir *Walter Raleigh* obſerved ow free and eaſie they had made their Com- erce by lowering their Cuſtomes and Duties; ey let in the *French* Proteſtants by a Tolera- ion, and carefully Superintended the Increaſe. f their Manufactures. Thus as the *French* hop came to have more things of *Delicacy and ariety*, it drew in more Cuſtomers, and the *ngliſh* amongſt the reſt; and as a great part f Trade is driven in *Fantaſtical Dreſſes*, and oys of many ſorts, the *French* took care to rovide an Abundance, with which they *gulled* he reſt of the World: Hence were their *Prin-s* at firſt called *Faſhion-mongers*; but they did ot reſt there, they ſoon became *Portentous radeſmen* in the moſt ſolid and valuable Com-odities in the World, and thence *Lord layors* of the Continent; doubtleſs the pre-nt *French King* thinks it his high Concern,

See before in Section the 7th. Pag.

and

and values himſelf upon it, of which we hav
an Evidence in his nice and early looking in
to his great *Shop-Books* or Entries, to find ou
the *Ballance* of his Trade with *England*, an
by making his Shop *eaſie* in the Approach
viz. by his increaſing his *free Ports*, (for i
truth, it would be a very ſtrange Project o
Gain, for a Tradeſman to ſet a Toll on ever
man that comes in at his Door) the ſame ap
pears by an hundred other inſtances.

Thus have the *Dutch* in a *blind* purſuit o
their particular Intereſts, built up a *Prodigi*
of Power, which (having of late propagated
great Navigation of its own, as I ſhall mor
particularly ſhew) is now ſo ſwelling, and o
ſo *Serpentine* a Nature, that it is ready to de
vour thoſe who firſt gave it life.

The yearly value of the late and preſen
Exports from *France*, may be computed b
what the *Engliſh* only took off, which ſuppo
ſing to be more moderate than Mr. *Fortrey* Re
ports, (which yet I do not admit) *viz.* bu
two Millions Sterling, what a vaſt yearly Sum
muſt it amount to? Since there is great reaſo
to think, and I ſpeak upon the beſt Authorit
I can meet with, that the *Dutch* have take
off *ſeven or eight times* more yearly than th
Engliſh; For beſides the mighty quantities o
Salt, *Wine*, *and Brandy* which they them
ſelves Conſume, they Export vaſtly more o
theſe

theſe, and *All other French Commodities* to other Nations; the *French* Trade being indeed the *principal Foundation* of moſt of the ordinary *Dutch* Trade *from Port to Port*.

Beſides the *Dutch*, the *Hamburghers*, *Lubeckers*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and moſt or all other Mercantile Nations in this Part of the World, do yearly Freight themſelves at the *French* Ports, (which muſt be one reaſon, and perhaps *the yet* the principal, why the *French Language* is become ſo *Univerſal*:) whileſt the *French* take very little Conſumptive Commodity from theſe, nor yet from the *Dutch* or *Engliſh*, but *Eaſt-India* Spice, Callicoes, &c. a Trade which the *French* King hath alſo manifeſtly deſigned to engage in, by an Aſſociation and Contribution of Stock in *France*, and his Attempts to get footing in divers places of the *Eaſt-Indies*; ſome time will ſhew what his Succeſs may be, or whether *at a Lump*, he hopes to Unite the *Dutch* Trade and Strengths in thoſe Parts to himſelf, by an Union of the *Dutch* Provinces and their Navigation to his preſent Empire; and whether then our *Engliſh* Factories there, will be able to preſerve themſelves againſt daily Violations, and utter Extirpation. In the mean time upon what hath been ſaid, let the Reader compute, how many Millions Sterling muſt already yearly enter into *France*, by the Annual Vent of ſo

Prodigious

Prodigious a Store of Commodities; it muſt be much the better part of *Twenty Millions*. I find it affirmed by a ſmall Piece lately Printed, Intituled, *An Accompt of the* French *Uſurpations upon* England; which ſeems Written by a man of good Judgment, That from the Northern Countries only, the *French Wines* now bring in 25 Millions of *Florens*; their *Salt*, 10 Millions of *Florens*; *Brandy*, 5 Millions; their Silks, Stuffs, Toyes, and Fripperies, 40 Millions of *Florens* more. What then do the *French* receive from all the other Regions of the World, for theſe, and other things?

All which hath been viſible in the *gradual Increaſe* of the *French Power*, from the time the *Dutch* Provinces began to Trade. It muſt be admitted that both before and ſince the *French* Monarchy became Abſolute (this being a great and populous Nation) was able to bring Conſiderable Armies into the Field; but they could get little or no ground by Arms on any of their Neighbours, or ſoon loſt what they got: The People were abject and recreant; and more the Ridicule, than the terror of their Neighbours, the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Treaſures and Strengths were notoriouſly too big for them; the *Engliſh* Conquered them ſeveral times; the *Spaniards* more lately beat them out of *Navarre*, *Naples*, and *Millan*, and by their Faction in *France*, drove *Henry* the 3d out

out of *Paris*, and most of his other best Cities, and afterwards not above 80 years since supported the *Holy League* with Arms and Money against *Henry* the 4th, under the Conduct of the *Duke* of *Mayence*; both which Princes fell by the hands of *Priests*; for the *Spaniards* were then the *strongest side*. This Superiority of the *Spanish* Power, made all the Kings of *France* from *Charles the* 8*th*, to *Lewis the* 13*th inclusive*, glad to seek a Support from the *English*; and the more to endear themselves, got to be *Knights* of the *Garter* (except *Francis the* 2*d.* a King of one year, and no more) these were, *Lewis the* 12*th*, *Francis the* 1*st*, *Henry the* 2*d*, *Charles the* 9*th*, and the said *Henry the* 3*d*, and the 4*th*; if we go higher to *Lewis the* 11*th*, who next preceded *Charles the* 8*th*, we may Compute his Treasure and Grandure by a Reckoning found in the Chamber of Accompts at *Paris*, *of* 2 *s. for new Sleeves to his old Doublet, and three Half-pence for Liquor to grease his Boots*; 'Tis like he was the poorer, because he and the rest paid a kind of *Tribute* of 50000 Crowns *per Annum* to the King of *England* for 100 years together; before this, they were almost continually wasted by the *English*, till our *Dissentions at home* called our Forces away, leaving *Charles the* 7*th*, Predecessor of this *Lewis the* 11*th*, to take Possession of what he pleased, except *Calais*. Heylin's Geogr. 236.

But soon after the *French* Ports were frequented by the *Dutch* Navigation, we find the State of *France* begin to alter; the said *Henry* the *4th*, having reduced the Holy League, grew a *Mighty Prince*, added *la Bresse*, *Bearne*, and *Basse Navarre* to the Crown, and enjoyed a 10 years Peace, though at last Murthered. *Lewis* the *13th*, was yet more powerful; besides the *Reduction of the Huguenots*, and of above 300 *Walled Towns* then in their hands, he added or revested to that Crown, the Dukedoms of *Barre*, and *Lorrain*, and other acquests in *Germany*, *Italy*, the *Belgick Provinces*, and other parts of the *Spanish* Dominions; in which, and in *Italy*, he was able at once to maintain *five Royal Armies in the Field*; keeping no less than 120000 Men in Pay and Action for many years together, besides his Garrisons; and yet is the Power of *France* since vastly increased, whereof every man is or has reason to be sensible. I shall refer the particular Consideration of it till the last Section.

He began his Reign in the year 1589. and Reigned till 1610.

Next *Lewis* 13th, who died 1642. and since the present *Lewis* the 14th.

In the mean time, I shall only add what I find in Dr. *Heylin's* Book of *Geography*, p. 238, (who being to give an Accompt of the Revenue of that Countrey) tells us, That *Lewis* the *14th*, gathered one Million, and an half of

Crowns,

Crowns, *Francis* the 1*st.* brought them to three Millions; his Succeſſor *Henry* the 2*d.* to ſix; *Charles* the 9*th.* to ſeven; *Henry* the 3*d.* to ten; *Henry* the 4*th.* from two to five Millions, Sterling. This he attributes meerly to the more *Deſpotical Power*, and greater Tyranny of the later Princes; and might be ſo in ſome meaſure: For in the time of *Charles* the 9*th.* whilſt in War with the *Engliſh*, there was an Act by the Three *French* Eſtates, that the King might raiſe Money in caſe of Neceſſity; which Power, 'tis likely was not at firſt uſed ſo moderately as it was after: However we cannot think *Henry* the 4*th.* could *leap* from two Millions to five Millions Sterling, without a great Importation of Treaſure, which does not grow on the Peoples backs like Wooll; the advance of the *French* Trade and Treaſure, being the true Reaſon, we may believe the Revenue of *Lewis* the 13*th.* was raiſed to more than double this, *viz.* Ten Millions Sterling; and that ſince it is doubled again, *viz.* Twenty Millions, (as good Judges of it as I can meet with ſay, 'tis now above Twenty Millions Sterling) For the Treaſures of the World being drawn into *France*, as into a *Gulf*, muſt anſwerably advance that King's Revenue, and diminiſh the Treaſures of other Nations; which 'tis probable is partly the Cauſe that the Price of moſt Commodities in *Europe* are ſunk; ſince

according to the former Maxims, if there be leſs Money in the hands of other Trading Nations than before, they muſt and will buy for leſs.

Having thus far purſued the Growth of the *French Trade*, and *Power*; I ſhall now return to the *Engliſh*, as they were inveſted with the ſeveral Trades before mentioned in the time of our two laſt Kings, *viz.* King *James*, and King *Charles* the Firſt, and ſhall endeavour to ſhew, Firſt, how we come to loſe the Monopoly of the *Woollen Manufacture*; which was the Effect of many Concurring Cauſes; the *Dutch* were generally vigilant after all Trade, and particularly this, ſo much they ſhared with us long before, that they Dyed, Dreſſed, and Vended vaſt quantities of our white Cloaths Exported thither, by which they made an incredible Gain. Sir *Walter Raleigh* about 60 years ſince, in his Obſervations on Trade preſented to King *James*, proves, *England* in 55 years, had loſt 55 Millions of Pounds by the *Dutch* Dyeing and Dreſſing our white Cloaths. But withal, the *Dutch* by their vaſt Navigation and Univerſal Trading, gave them a greater *vent* than we otherwiſe could do, unleſs by an equal Regulation of our Trade, the *Engliſh* had been made as Capable; without any thing of that, this courſe was taken; one Sir *William Kokayne*, and other Merchants, hoping to make

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an advantage to *themſelves*, got a *Patent* for the Dyeing and Dreſſing of our Cloaths, with Power to hinder the Exportation of our white Cloaths; wherein we have our two uſual Expedients in Trade, *viz.* a *Reſtraint to a Company*, and a *Prohibition*; by which our Vent was leſſened, and the *Dutch* the more provoked to attempt this Manufacture at home; to which they had great encouragement by their *Situation* for the Trade of *Germany*; and the rather becauſe our *Hamburgh Company*, who by their Patent have the ſole Trade on that Coaſt, for about ſix or ſeven hundred Miles, kept but two Staples, *viz.* at *Hamburgh* and *Dort*, remote from each other, and from many of thoſe Countries which they ſupplied: So as many of thoſe who come to our Markets, muſt paſs and repaſs, through ſeveral Principalities with much Danger, and Payments of Tolls and Taxes; and beſides, we raiſed our Prices, and ſet ſuch terms on the Buyers, that others as well as the *Dutch*, were much *diſaffected*; whereupon an Opportunity was offered: For about the year 1636. Two hundred Families of our Manufacturers being about to forſake *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and Tranſport themſelves to our Plantations, *by reaſon of the then Perſecution of Diſſenters*, the *Dutch* invited them into *Holland*, where the *Dutch* did not only entertain them, but in *Leyden*, *Alkmaer*, and

other places, planted them Rent-free, and Exciſe-free, ſeven years. After theſe went more and more *Colonies*, which ſetled at *Rotterdam*, *Middleburgh*, and *Fluſhing*, where a fourth part of the Inhabitants are *Engliſh*, or of *Engliſh* Extraction: Beſides vaſt numbers of *Engliſh* diſperſed elſewhere in thoſe Provinces.

The *Dutch* having gotten the Manufacturers, had half done their work; they wanted nothing but *Wool*, which if they might have on any tolerable Terms, their Advantages in the way of Trade, muſt enable them to out-doe us, this they Imported from *Spain*, *England*, and *Ireland*, and elſewhere, falling amain upon the Woollen Manufactures of all ſorts; ſo that about the year 1640. they pretended to ſome thing of a Cloth Trade in *Germany*, and ſoon afterwards took occaſion to ſupply our *Eaſtland and Northern* Markets more and more; eſpecially with *fine Cloth*; getting ground upon us continually, they bought our Woolls dearer at firſt, but have gradually ſunk the Prices; our Vigilant Neighbours, *the French*, ſtarted with them, or ſoon followed their Example, as did the *Flemmings*, the *Sileſians*, *Polanders*, and ſome others mentioned before; by all which theſe and other Parts of the World were as much ſupplied with coarſe *Cloths*, *Druggets and Stuffs*; but the *Dutch* would not reſt here Trade was their buſineſs, and they obſerved

the virtue of ours (such as we had) depended wholly on *Accidents*, and particularly that of *Muscovy* on our *Privilege*; which therefore they found ways to evacuate, by bestowing Money amongst the Grandees of that Court, and furnishing them with an Objection against our Merchants, as being *Londoners*, and therefore (as they insinuated) must be concerned as Actors in the *horrid* Murther of His late *Sacred Majesty*, which it was in vain for our Merchants to dispute, when the Judges were Fee'd on the other side; this powerful Metal (whereof the *Dutch* are never sparing on such occasions, and therein have a farther advantage upon us) had so radicated their Interests with the *Boyars*, that notwithstanding all Applications in an Honourable Embassy to the *Great Czar* from his *now Sacred Majesty*, by the *Earl of Carlisle*, our Privilege could never be regained.

Soon after this, there followed two things convenient to be taken notice of for the prevention of misapprehensions on either side; one was, that between the year (50) and (60) we had an Accidental Opportunity of increasing our Treasure with the loss of our People, *viz.* by the Stocking *Ireland* with Inhabitants, and Cattle, after the Reduction of the *Irish* Rebels, and by furnishing it with all sorts of Goods and Necessaries, then much consumed or spoiled by the Wars and Disorders there;

which on a ſudden, brought us almoſt all the Treaſures of *Ireland*; which ſuppoſing but a Million and an half, or but a Million, was conſiderable.

Another, which prevented us of as much Money as we thus got, if not of more, and doubtleſs exhauſted us of ſome; In the year 1654. the late Uſurper *Oliver Cromwell* (whoſe guilty fears made him Jealous of the *Engliſh*, and ſeek a ſupport from *France*) did in Conjunction with *France* make a fatal War upon *Spain*; which, beſides the ſeiſure of our *Spaniſh* effects, and our vaſt Loſſes at Sea in that War, interrupted our Trade *with Spain*, and gave the *Dutch* better footing, but *opened* our *French Trade*; at once weakning the Ballance of our Trade, and the *Ballance of all* Europe.

Thus it was before the year 1660. But in regard our Imports were then of far leſs quantity and value than they were after, 'tis preſumeable that our Trade might be yet beneficial, eſpecially conſidering our then *Iriſh* Trade; but our Importations increaſing, we find what Mr. *Mun*, a *Principal Engliſh Merchant* thought of it, by what he ſaith in his Book of Trade, Printed in (63.) But, as appears by the Preface, was Written ſome time before; the words are theſe, "The whole Trade of the Realm for Exporta-

Pag. 61.

"tions

"tions (and Importations "is now found to be about "the yearly value of four "Millions and a half of "Pounds; It may be "yet increaſed 200000 *l.* "more by the Importa-"tions and Conſumption of Foreign Wares, "by this means we know the King ſhall be a "Gainer near 20000 *l.* (*viz.* by the Cuſtoms;) "but the Common-wealth would loſe the "whole 200000 *l.* and the King ſhall be ſure "in the end to have the greateſt loſs, if he do "not prevent ſuch unthrifty courſes as do im-"poveriſh his People. By which words, I take "it as very plain, that before he wrote, our Ex-portations and Importations were computed "to ſtand even; which is the more enforced by "the latter words, *viz.* "That the Common-"wealth would loſe the whole 200000 *l.* the "People be impoveriſhed, and the King the "greateſt loſer at laſt.

As for Mr. *Mun's* propoſal to Export Money in Trade, I have ſpoken to it before; and beſides, he recommends the Reduction of the Cuſtoms, and eaſing of Trade, which (if fully done) it might be then convenient.

Then if we compute our Loſſes ince (60), nay, or (63), *viz.* By the eans of the Acts of Navigation, hich (though firſt begun by the *ump*, to the prejudice of Trade in eir time) have been ſince made aws, and continued to our greater nd daily growing prejudice. } 000000

By

By all our direct and Conſequential Loſſes from the *Iriſh* Acts mentioned before. }

By the Loſs or decay of our *Scotch* Trade. }

By the Stop of our Exported Cloathing into *France*. }

By the ſetting up of more Woollen Manufactures in *Portugal*, *Swedeland*, and the *Palatinate*, (to which laſt Countrey went ſome Thouſands of our Manufacturers within leſs than Twenty years) and by the Increaſe of theſe, and of the *Sileſian*, *Polonian*, *Dutch*, *French*, and *Flemmiſh* Woollen Manufactures ever ſince, by which our Vent muſt be anſwerably Contracted. }

By the continual ſinking of the Forreign Price of our Cloathing. }

By the decay of our *Iſeland*, *Groenland*, and *Newfound-Land* Fiſhing-Trades. }

By the ſinking of the Foreign Price of our other Exports mentioned before. }

And laſtly, in a Lump by a continual vaſt Increaſe of our Importations of all Sorts and Species mentioned in this Section, with an Expor- }

tatio

ation of Treasure answerable to the Whole.

Our Overballance appears to me to be so much of late years, that it might be wondred how any of our late Treasures could yet remain amongst us, did we not also Consider that our Trade by degrees, in length of time, had before the year (60) brought a great Treasure into *England*, and that these our latest Prejudices and Losses have not been working upon us many years. But if the Overballance continue, it must soon sweep away what remains; which Mr. *Fortrey* Prophetically foretold in these words:

"Hereby it may appear how insensibly our "Treasures must be exhausted, and our Nation "Beggared, whilst we carelesly neglect our "own Interests, and Strangers abroad are dili"gent to make their advantages upon us.

Sir *William Temple*, in his excellent Treatise of the *Dutch* does presage the like.

Having laid it as a Ground, That "Whatever "the Exportation wants in value, "to Ballance, the Importation must "of necessity be made up with rea"dy Money; he tells us, That by this we find "out the Foundation of the Riches of *Holland*, "as of their Trade, by Circumstances already "rehearsed; for never any Countrey Traded so "much, and consumed so little; they buy infi"nitely, but 'tis to sell again, either upon Im-

Pag. 231, 232, 234.

"provement

" provement of the Commodity (*viz.* by Manu-
" facture) or at a better Market: (*viz.* in the
" Trade from Port to Port).

" By all this Accompt of their Trade and
" Riches, it will appear that ſome of our Max-
" ims are not ſo certain, as they are Currant in
" our Common Politicks: As firſt, That the
" example and *encouragement of Exceſs and*
" *Luxury*, if employed in the Conſumption of
" Native Commodities, is of advantage to
" Trade; the Cuſtom or humour of Luxury
" and Expence cannot ſtop at certain bounds:
" what begins in Native, will proceed in For-
" reign Commodities; and though the *example*
" *riſe among idle Perſons, yet the Imitation will*
" *run into all degrees*, even of thoſe, by *whoſe*
" *Induſtry the Nation ſubſiſts*: and beſides, the
" more of our own we ſpend, the leſs we ſhall
" have to ſend abroad; *and ſo it will come to paſs*
" *that while we drive a vaſt Trade, yet by buy-*
" *ing much more than we ſell, we ſhall come to*
" *be poor.*

" Whereas, when we drive a very ſmal Traf-
" fick abroad, yet by ſelling ſo much more
" than we bought, we were very Rich in pro-
" portion to our Neighbours. This appeared
in *Edward* the Third's time, when he main-
tained ſo mighty Wars in *France*, and carried
our Victorious Arms into the heart of *Spain*.
Whereas in the 28*th* year of that King's Reign,

the

the Value and Custom of all our Exported Commodities, amounted to 2941841. 17 s. 2 d. and that of our Imported, but 389701. 03 s. 06 d.; so as there must have entred that year into the Kingdom, in Coin or Bullion, or else have grown a Debt to the Nation, 2552141. 13 s. 08 d. and yet we then carried out our Woolls unwrought, and brought in a great part of our Cloaths from *Flanders*.

Whence Two things may be remarked: First, That 'tis much in vain to increase the value of our Exports, if at the same time we increase our Imports to a yet greater value, being now (perhaps) an 100 times more than value.

Secondly, That although *Edward* the Third, revived the Order of the *Round Table*, he did not perform his great Atchievements by the meer virtue of Knight Errantry; there is no doubt but our succeeding Princes were enabled to make their Conquests in *France*, by the advantages of our former Trade, then far more considerable than the *French*.

I shall only add, that this Consumption by our Importations, will not be prevented, but rather augmented by our *late Prohibition of* French *Goods*; as I shall demonstrate in the last Section.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

That a Considerable part of our late Treasure exhausted: Application to our Publick and Private Revenues: Objections Answered, viz. *The Plenty of Money to be let on Securities: Stores of Money in* London, *Stocks in Merchandize, the Over-weightiness of our Coin,* &c.

AFter what hath been said, it may seem little requisite to enquire whether Mr. *Fortrey* Prophesied right, when he foretold the Exhausting of our Treasure.

If the Diffusive Body of the People be much Poorer than before, they have much less Treasure than before; For Poverty is but the privation of Treasure. Now if the Question be whether the Nation be Poorer, it must be undeniable from all those Badges of Poverty I have mentioned before; if any of those particulars Men who find themselves *at ease*, are yet unwilling to believe it, they may be further convinced from the universal Cries of the People (at least from the Land-holders, remaining Manufacturers, and their Dependants who make up the gross and stanch Body of the Nation) they remember when it was otherwise, when

then

here was a far greater plenty of Money in all
ur inferiour Cities, Corporations, and Villa-
es; when our Farmers had their Rents before
nd, and had Stocks for every Farm; when
y and our Manufacturers got Estates, and
hen vast Taxes could be readily raised; and
herefore are the most proper Judges of the
lds, who feel the present Scarcity, and want
Money: they cannot conspire in a Falsity
f this Nature, but in so general and near a
oncern. The Voice of the People hath been
ken to be like the *Speech of God*. Those that
d their Stocks wasted, or much Contracted,
eir late Revenues sunk, their home-Com-
odities yield much less value, their labours in
anufactures turn to less Profit, or to none at
, the poor and their Maintenances vastly
creased, the Nation involved in Debts, Mo-
y very hard to be gotten or raised in the
ay of home-Trade, with other Common
rdships, cannot be argued out of their Sen-
; *Credo quod habes & habes*, is no Logick in
tters of Interest, but amongst Fools and
dmen; or let Men be never so good at per-
ading or believing, yet when their Estates
d Stocks are thus sunk, they cannot answer
e Publick Emergencies by Payment of as
eat Taxes as before.

I should not say more to prove our Natio-
l Treasure is much diminished, (taking it

to

to be indisputable; and being sensible, th
the over-labouring a Truth, may bring it
question) but having something to offer, b
which (as it seems to me) some nearer Con
cture may be made of the Quantity of M
ney thus exhausted, I shall present it to t
Reader, desiring his Excuse, if he think
unnecessary.

So great was the Quantity of our late *Ha*
and Cross Money, before the year (60) th
according to the best Estimate I can make
meet with, it made about 10 or 15 *per Ce*
of our Common Money in tale in the *Countr*
and more in *London*, which I do not take to
the meer Effect of our extraordinary Expo
in Trade, for the years then last precedin
but partly of the Plate then lately Coined, a
our Stocking *Ireland*; but more than eith
from our far less yearly Imports of all kinds
veral years before 1660.

I must refer it to the Memory, or other
formation of the Reader, whether he can co
ply with me in the aforesaid late quantity
our Harp and Cross Money; whatsoever it we
this Money being taken in to be recoined
the year (60) must, when recoined, produ
the like Quantity of His *Majestie's Coin*;
sides which, according to the said Accompt
November (75) there had then been 2383995
more Coined since His Majestie's Restorati

and since the said Accompt, there hath been yet *more* Coyned; which supposing to be but 600000 *l.* had the Money so Recoyned, and since Coyned with His now Majestie's Impression, continued in the Nation, and the new Money under His Majestie's Impression, must have been much above Three Millions, I conceive near Four Millions; and then supposing we had Twelve Millions in the Nation, it would have been above 30 *per Cent.* of our currant Money in Tale; of more, were our whole Treasure less than Twelve Millions.

Whereas we see at this day, that the new Money of His now Majestie's Impression, does not amount to above *5 per Cent.* of the currant Money in *the Countrey*, taking one Payment with another, (especially in such Counties as lye any thing remote from *London*) I think not so much.

'Tis true, that in *London*, where the Mint and Merchants are, there is some greater quantity of new Money, and perhaps somewhat more of late than usually; because that by occasion of the *late Forreign Wars*, we have had somewhat a better Vent for our *English* Cloths, and a greater Exportation of our *Annual product* of Corn: But yet in *London* it does not make near 30 *per Cent.* taking one Payment with another; nor I conceive, more than equal the quantity of our late Harp and Cross Money.

Now if the Money *in His now Majesties Impression*, be *less* in quantity than the *Harp and Cross Money*, it must follow, that notwithstanding all the Money since Coyned, we have less Money in the Nation than we had in (59:) if our present new Coyn but equal the Harp and Cross Money, it follows, that we have now no more Money than in (59). And in either Case, that as much of our new Coyn as amounts to the said whole 2238997 *l.* and all the other Money Coyned since *November* (75) is also Exported: For though we may still have some Coyn of each of the succeeding years since (59:) yet if all of it put together amounts to no more than the quantity of the Harp and Cross Money we had in (59:) our Stock of Treasure cannot be more than it was in (59:) if less, then our present Stock is less.

And if Millions of our *new Money*, Coyned since (59) be gone, as, I take it, 'tis evident they are; we may reasonably Collect that as much or more of *our old Coyn*, is also Exported (by the old Coyn, I mean such as was Coyned in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles* the First, and before) of which we had lately a mighty Store, almost all of it valuable and unclipped; especially *the Gold*, whereof we had an abundance commonly passing in home-Trade and Payments, there is no reason why these Coyns, being as valuable or more,

should not be as good a Commodity in Trade as the new.

And accordingly we may to our Comforts observe, that this late mighty Store *of old Gold*, is in a manner totally vanished, those few pieces which remain, being almost taken as Medals, never to be parted with.

If it be said that part of our old Gold is Coyned into Guinnies, this will not alter the Case, since our whole new Coyn is no more in proportion to the old, than before is noted.

So of our old Silver Coyn, there is very little remaining, but what is much Clipped, or worn; and therefore not valuable for Exportation. We have those yet alive who can remember what a flowing Treasure we had in all Parts of *England*, before we had any Harp and Cross Money, and are now sensible of the general scarcity and Want of it.

This does let in a further Presumption, that our new Coyn is diminished to a much greater degree, than it appears to be: For, suppose we have now but a moiety of all the old Coyn we had in the year (59), 'Tis plain, that a moiety of the Harp and Cross Money (had it remained) would now hold the same proportion to the old, as the whole did in (59), and so will a moiety of our new Coyned Money; and thus will it be in any lesser proportions.

If the new Coyn come to be *less in proportion* to the old, than it was before, it is an infallible evidence of the *Diminution* of our Treasure, because the old Coyn *could not increase*; But if the new Coyn come to be *more in proportion* to the old Coyn than before, this is no manner of Demonstration of the increase of Treasure, since the decrease of the old Coyn may produce this Odds.

Thus after the Consumption of our old Gold, we have more than Twenty Guinneys to one Broad Piece; but I think no body will press it as an Argument of more Gold in the Nation than we lately had; so having lost so great a part of our valuable old Silver Coyn, 'tis no Wonder if our new Silver Coyn seems so much as it doth, especially about *London*; perhaps it hath been a kind of Providence that we have had so much Clipt and worn Money; since otherwise we might have had as little old Silver, as we have old Gold; and might have been reduced to our present Store of new Silver Coyn, as we are to our Guinneys, which might have afforded a weighty Argument of the Increase of our Treasure.

Upon these Grounds, and upon the common Wants, Necessities, and Decays mentioned before, it may reasonably be concluded, That besides the loss of most of those Millions Coyned since His Majestie's Restauration

we

we have lost many more Millions of the old Coyn in Silver and Gold; I shall leave the quantity to be computed by the indifferent Reader: Those who set out the said Accompt from the Mint, taking notice of the great consumption of our Treasure by reason of its being Exported, did by the same Paper, then estimate it to be reduced to about four or five Millions; and by the Nature of that Accompt, they seem no unfit Persons to make some competent Judgment of this Matter.

Whatsoever our Coyned Treasure was when this Accompt was made, 'twas plainly much less then, than it would have been, had none been Exported; and though it must be admitted, that our late Exportation of our Annual Corn, and what other advantages we had during the late War, may have somewhat helped us, yet we have reason to think it farther diminished now, especially considering our losses at Sea by the *Dutch*, and others, before we disengaged from the late War, and since by the *French* and *Algiers* Pirates, and the mony lately and daily exported by *Papists* departed hence; to which may be added what we must now further export by the expiration of the *Irish* Acts, and the *dear buying* of these goods we imported from *France*, already added to the former Overballance of our Importations.

Then let the Reader judg what we are to

hope for in our *private and publick Revenues*, I shall only endeavour to put him into a method of conjecturing, leaving the compute to his greater ingenuity and leisure. Suppose we have now 5, 6, or 7 Millions of Treasure in the Nation; let him consider how much of this must constantly lye in the *hands of Traders* to attend the payment of Customs, and the buying up of our vast importations; how much always is, and must be *actually collected* in *Taxes*, and either lies in the *Exchequer*, or in the hands of Officers; and how much does, and always will lye dead in *Banks* and other private hands; and then, how much will at the same time (*I say at the same time*) be employed in the home-Markets to buy of the annual *Produce of Lands*; perhaps it will not be half of the Whole: Then recollecting that we have 29568000 Acres of Land in *England*, what *Rent* can they yield, one with the other. Admitting this whole Treasure at the same time stirring in the home-Markets, our whole Land-Revenues could not be much; all the help we have is, that we have many *great masts*, which yielding little or nothing, a great quantity of this floating money is applicable to the rest; and yet to our sorrow we have found that our Rents are mightily sunk, which having not abated so much or speedily as was requisite, our Yeomanry are generally impoverish't.

Then

Then for our *publick Revenue*, 'tis as plain, it must be confined to the stock of Treasure be it greater or less. We have many who seem to resent the narrowness of his Majestie's Revenue and Supplies, and are ready to expostulate why they should not be equal to the *French King's*; let them consider what may possibly be paid out of our Land Revenues thus contracted, and constantly charged with the maintenance of our numerous poor; and besides, that the *English* having by the constitutions of the Government an undoubted *liberty* and *property*, are accustomed to live well, and their Representatives, being a part of themselves, in whose disposition it lies to give supplies or not, will have regard to their own and the peoples abilities: should they give extravagantly it would be like *Diego's* Will, and must induce many of those sad consequences mentioned before; what then if we should be involved in any long Foreign War, or obliged to any great extraordinary publick Charge in time of Peace, whilst we remain under a consumptive Trade? which I intimate once more to shew the necessity of improving our Trade.

I shall now answer some common Objections.

The most usual is, That there is now *as much money to be let on good Securities in* England, *as there are Securities*, or rather more; from

whence some infer that there is as much, or more money than ever in *England*.

To this I answer, That on the contrary, it only proves the scarcity of Securities, and therein the poverty of the Nation; for *personal Security* for money being in a manner *lost*; all the floating money to be let out at interest is thrust upon Land-Securities; which (were they all good) would take off much less money than was let out at interest when both Land and Personal Securities stood: But, as the National Poverty hath subverted Personal Security, so hath it crept into the Land; for mens estates are already so entangled with Debts, that there is not one Land-Security in twenty that is good, as dear experience hath now taught us. Then, the Securities being grown so scarce and narrow, 'tis no wonder that there is now as much money to be let out as there are Securities, and more. Thus if a man had 1000 *l.* in the Isle of *Shetland*, he would there hardly find any Security for it; which at this rate of arguing would prove the Isle of *Shetland* richer than the Isle of *Great Britain*.

And upon this occasion I shall add, That there is no possible way for restoring the Securities and Credits of *England*, but by restoring its Riches; no *Register* can do it, at least comparable to the other; we may Register our common

common Poverty, but nothing will make an ill man value his credit, or able to satisfie for a Cheat, but his own private wealth; nothing can make a man who is honestly inclined to do a foul thing, but Poverty and Necessity.

Another Objection, partly answered before, is, That *there is still as much money in and about* London, *as ever*; from whence they would argue as much money in the Nation as before.

I cannot admit this fact; if I did, the consequence is lame and frivolous; however, because there hath been such a pother made about the money in *London*, I shall give some further account of it.

I agree that there are considerable quantities of money always lodging in and about *London*, in some particular hands: But the reason is, because the King's Revenue is paid in, and issued out, in and about *London*. There is also the *Mint*, and there do our *principal Merchants* live, who Trade with so much exported money or bullion, and keep money dead for the Customs. This is also the great Port for Forreign Importations; and the Country Retailers, who buy them there and vend them to the people, must send up their money to *London*: Upon which and the like occasions, 'tis thought near half the money in *England* is in *London*: The more is the pity; it were much better for the Nation that there were more *home-Manufacture*, with

with Forreign *Stores* of re-exportable Goods and a leſs proportion of our money; and the rather becauſe it ſtagnates for a time in the hands of Merchants, Banquers, and Scriveners and facilitates the culling, melting, and export tation. This being the great *Sluce* of our Treaſure will neceſſarily draw it from all parts, as long as we have any in the Nation.

Theſe Stores of money in *London* muſt rather evidence the poverty of the people, who being over ballanced by the money drawn out for Importations and Taxes, and therefore incapable of anſwering thoſe payments by Bills or Returns to *London*; very much of our Taxes have been ſent up in *Carts and Waggons*, and our Country Retailers continually ſend up money in ſpecie *by the Carriers*; which muſt drein away that which remains, in a little time. Nor do thoſe Stores of money much ſpread, or benefit the general body of Traders, even in *London*; who were never ſo poor or broke ſo faſt (tho never ſo fine) as now. It is impoſſible that the occaſions, vanities, or the remaining ſtock of the Kingdom can ever ſupport ſuch a prodigious Increaſe of Retailers and Shop-keepers as are in and about *London*, being near 100000 in number, when in *Amſterdam* there are not 5000.

Nor is it to be objected, That I have not computed *our preſent Stores of Merchandize* or For-

reign

eign Effects as part of the National wealth.

First, because the present question is about the actual *fruit and produce* of a National Trade in new Treasure; and not about the quantity of our Stores of Merchandize or Forreign Effects.

'Tis true, That if a Nation whose Trade is duly regulated, hath a great *Store-house* of *Forreign Goods, as in* Holland, *or great Forreign effects*, 'tis very possible and likely that these may produce new Treasure; and if they do, then is the National gain in Treasure to be imputed, and not before.

For on the other side 'tis impossible (even in a Nation that hath a due ballance of Trade) but such Stores and Effects may produce no Treasure; for the Forreign Stores being re-exported may be lost by the perils of the Sea, or Seizures of Princes or Pirates; we may remember the late seisures of the *English* by the *French* Papers; the like casualties do attend Forreign Effects, for which we may also remember when our Effects were seized in *Spain*.

But Secondly, Supposing none of those Casualties, yet (as a National Trade may be managed) these stores and Effects shall produce no new Treasure to the Nation; as when these Forreign Goods and Stores are, and must be spent at home; and the Forreign Effects are continually by Bills of Exchange, applied to

pay

pay for those Forreign Goods; so if the M
chants are sometimes forced to Import a
Coyn some Forreign Bullion yearly, but y
Export it, or the like quantity of Money
Bullion, the Nation gets nothing; and if mo
Treasure be Exported than is yearly Import
the Nation loses; in which Case the stock
imployed in Trade doth prejudice the weal
of the Nation; since in the Whole it makes
a monstrous Engin for the Bulgeing out of
Treasure; and that this hath been the Case
our *English* Trade, is plain enough.

Nor can the *Forreign Stock* in such a Co
sumptive Trade be of any great value, since
some Effects are gotten by our Merchants
one Forreign Countrey, so are debts contra
ed in another, as long as our Merchants c
have credit; and then perhaps our Forrei
debts may be near the value of our Forrei
Effects, and probably more; or however, cann
be thought equal to our former stock in Trad
when we were not over ballanced.

There are yet other objectors, who adm
ting much of our Treasure Exported, will e
cuse our Trade, and assign the cause of it
the *over weightiness of our Coyn*, and the
dervaluing it in our *Forreign Bills of E*
change, &c.

These are old inconsiderate fancies, sufficien
ly refuted before, yet I should be more par
cul

lar in it, had not Mr. *Mun* in his Book of Trade ken the pains to clear this and the like objeions by evident reason and instances, in six eral Chapters, beginning at *pa.* 62. proving ithal, that nothing but the Overballance of rade can exhaust the National Treasure; to hich therefore I refer the Reader.

SECT. XIV.

eople and Treasure the true Pillars of the National strength: The Odds in the different Use and imployment of people. The absoluteness of the French *Monarchy no cause of the present* French *Grandure: The late Application of the* French *Councils to the Increase of Trade, People, and Treasure; and the occasion thereof. The greater excellency of the Form of our* English *Government. The farther necessity of Improving our Trade from the Modern Treasures and Powers of the* French; *of their Naval force, the* Algiers *Pyracy; how the* French *design to engross all Maritime Commerce; our dangers from* France; *of the present condition of the* Dutch: *That our late Prohibition of* French *Goods will not disable that Monarchy, nor better our Trade; meer Prohibitions of no value: Our great advantages in Trade above*

France

France *and* Holland: *That a speedy Regul*
tion of our Trade &c. would secure us agai
all Forreign Powers, and Dangers at home
Of Excises, and other Taxes. The certain I
crease of his Majesties Revenue; *hence, wh*
occasion for a Parliament, &c.

FRom what hath been said, it is evide
that *National power* is not Chimerica
but is founded on *People and Tre*
sures; and that, according to the di
ferent condition of these its true Pillars, it in
mediately grows more vigorous or languid
that sufficient stores of Treasure cannot othe
wise be gotten, than by the industry of the pe
ple; and, That till they have it, they cann
pay.

People are therefore in truth the chiefe
most fundamental, and pretious commodit
out of which may be derived all sorts of M
nufactures, Navigation, Riches, Conquest
and solid Dominion: This *capital material*, b
ing of it self *raw* and indigested, is committ
into the hands of the Supreme Authority;
whose prudence and disposition it is, to i
prove, manage, and fashion it to more or less a
vantage; if any individual Manufacturer shou
permit his *raw materials* to be Exported in
Forreign Countreys, or should himself ma
great store of knots of felters in his Yarn,
wou

ould soon have a very slender, or difficult
usiness of it: so great an odds there is in the
fferent disposition of the ordinary industry
f the people, that on the one hand, they may
e thrust on in the pursuit of private interest,
estructive to the publick, and be obliged like
annibals to live by devouring one another,
by which they must continually and inevita-
ly wound and weaken the publick:) when
n the other, their ordinary labours, more apt-
and industriously methodized, shall as un-
oidably aggrandize that Government which
rotects them; and this without the Midwife-
of those Arts, Shifts, and Projections, which
herwise may be found necessary for its more
resent Support.

More particularly it appears, That the pre-
nt *French power*, which is now the admiration
d terror of the World, hath no other foun-
tion; and therefore is not derived from the
ver *despotick Form* of that Government, as
me would insinuate, but from a prudent
elaxation of the Rigor of it towards the per-
ns and Stocks of the Trading part of that peo-
e; this Form of Government being in its
ture the most incompatible with Trade, of
l others; nor probably had Trade ever recei-
d any encouragement in *France*, but upon a
ecessity; this Monarchy being become abso-
te, was yet low, poor, and despicable; beset
round

round about with *Spanish* Forces, Territories and Allies, and poisoned with *Spanish* Pensions within, and therefore ready to become a *Spanish* Province: It was then that this Monarchy found *absoluteness* without sufficient Treasure was but a trifle: That Arbitrary power might force store of *Blood and Tears* from the people but not of *Money*, unless they had it: It was then that the opening and growth of the *Dutch* Trade presented an expedient of drawing in greater quantities of the diffused Treasures of the World into *France* by a Machine of home Manufactures, than the *Spaniards* could directly from their Mines; which therefore was embraced by the *dying hands* of this Monarchy and supported and improved ever since by a Succession of understanding men: which apparently was not done by any peculiar virtue in this *Form* of Government, but by a necessary Abating of its inherent rapaciousness, which otherwise would have swallowed up every *Sols* of the stocks imployed in Manufacture and other Trade, and thereby would have driven away the people; as may be seen in the *strong* Governments of *Turkey*, *Muscovy*, *Spain* and others.

The *French* Councils discerning where the true strength of Empire lay, were not so bewitch't with the *lusciousness* of their Arbitrary power as to seek any such extreme execution

o

of it; their policies have long gone another way, as may be infallibly collected from the effects, and by other lights: So long ago as *Henry* the Third's time of *France*, *Bernard de Gerrard* Lord of *Haillan*, a great Politician in his time, preſented an excellent piece to that King, intituled, *The Eſtate and Succeſs of the Affairs of* France, thereby repreſenting *by what courſes that Kingdom had been, or might be aggrandized or weakened*; amongſt others, he highly recommends the *Support of the Populacy*, beginning thus "The people are by "Juſtice to be preſerved in *liberty*, Pag. 195. "as will to *Trade* as to *Labour*, and to do eve-"ry thing belonging to their degree; by theſe "the Kingdom are *maintained*, and *enriched* "in general, and particular; if they bear the "charge of Tailles, ſo are they to be cheriſhed, "defended, and ſuſtained by the Nobles, as for-"merly they were, and now ought to be, from "the violences and oppreſſions of their Neigh-"bours, and by the King and Juſtice from the "*inſolence* of the Nobles. For ſo it was, that the Nobles or Gentry, being diſcharged of the Tailles, had given up the Conſtitution of Eſtates; for which, *they* had been indulged with a kind of *deſpotick power*, within their own particular *Fiefs*; from whoſe barbarities proceeded the greateſt ſufferings of the people; whereof this Author is not nice or ſparing to

give several instances too long to recite. I have troubled you with this citation, because this piece was by the Author Re-dedicated to *Henry* the Fourth, whom the Author tells in his Epistle, *That his Predecessor* Henry *the 3d used to read it with an Appetite*, and yet the Author goes so far as to applaud the Antient Constitution of the Estates or *Parliaments* in *France*, affirming them to have been the *mutual Succour, Medicine, and Remedy both of the King and People in all their Calamities.* If we come to the Reign of *Lewis* the 13th. under the Administration of Cardinal *Richelieus*, we may Judg how vigilant the *French* Councils were in his time, for the Increase of People and Trade, by two great Instances mentioned before: First in the *Toleration of Protestants*, after a Victorious Reduction of all their strengths by force of Arms this mighty Prince and his wise Minister overcame all *resentments* to advance and cement the glory of his Empire; so that 'tis observed by Dr. *Heylin*, "That the "Protestants never had the Exercise of their Religion with so much freedom "as they had, after their reducing of their "Forts and Garrisons to this King's obedience. Secondly, by *moderating of Customs* and Port duties on Merchandizes, which in the Reigns of his Predecessor had

Pag. 207.

Geogr. 176.

Bernard de Gerrard of Finances.

been raised and accumulated by about Twenty several *Edicts*; but in *his* time were in a manner taken off, as appears by what Sir *Walter Raleigh* Represented to King *James* about sixty years since, cited before; but if we would at once discover how far the *French Politicks* have inclined this way, we may observe them as they are Digested and Refined in the prodigious Book, so entituled, written, as appears, several years since, (the Authority of which piece, though already famous, I shall give a farther account of) where in the Chapter of Finances, it being first observed, "That a State is "no further *Powerful* than proportionably "to the Richness of its publick Treasury, and "the greatness of the yearly Income that main-"tains it: it is laid as a farther unalterable Maxime, "That the *Fundamental* Wealth of a "State consists in the *multitude of Subjects*; for "its Men that *Till the Ground, produce Manu-"factures, that manage Trade, that go to War, "that people Colonies, and in a word, that bring "in Money.* To make way in *France* for the multiplying of Men, divers courses are there dictated *to oblige both Men and Women to Marry, viz.* By Freedoms and Exemptions in Case they do, and have many Children, (now established by an *Edict*) and by Penalties in case they do

See before, Sect. 7th.

French Politicks pag. 108, 109.

not; whence it may be obſerved, what Eſtimate the *French* Politicks put upon *Marriage*.

In the Chapter of the 3*d* Eſtate thus,

Pag. 67. "There cannot be too great a number "of *Husbandmen* in *France*, by reaſon of the "Fertility of the Countrey; and our Corn being "Tranſported into Forreign Countries, we "ought *to make great Stores of it*, and *have as* "*much as may be in a readineſs*, (which I am told "is alſo ſo ordered by an *Edict*.) *Handicrafts-*

Pag. 68. "*men and Artificers* are no leſs uſeful; "for beſides, that Manufactures do keep "men at work, and *engage them*, they are the "Cauſe that the Silk, the Wool, the Skins, the "Flax, the Timber, and the other Commodi-"ties that grow in *France* are made Uſe of, and "that Countrey People have the means to "Barter theſe things, and put them off; eſpe-"cially being wrought into Wares, not made "in Forreign Parts, we ſhall grow further "Principal Manufacturers, as we already are of "*Hats for* Spain, *and Stuffs for all* Europe; *a* "*Matter of exceeding great Conſequence.* All "this quickens Trade, and makes *Money* paſs "to and fro, *which promoteth the Publick, and* "*therewith at once every one's private advan-*"*tage*: There muſt be *Merchants* alſo, for "without their Induſtry, the Artificers Shops "would be Stores never emptied, the Grana-"ries would remain full of Corn, and the Cel-

"lars

"lars of Wines, *&c.* In the Chapter of *General Orders*, Uſury is thought fit to be Prohibited (which is accordingly ſuppreſſed by an *Edict*:) I ſhall leave it to Enquiry, whether moſt of the reſt of theſe Politicks relating to matters at home, are not eſtabliſhed by other *Edicts*; if the Reader would further obſerve, how curious the *French* Politicks are to provide for the Increaſe and true Uſe of Populacy, I ſhall refer him to the Thirteenth Chapter of this Admirable Tract, directing the *Education of Children*, and when 'tis fit to *Marry* them; and to the Chapter of *Commerce*, or rather to the whole piece. By all I have ſaid, it appears, that although the *French* Kings have aſſumed an Arbitrary Power, the *French* Politicks have not *reſted* upon this as a *Security*, but for the Aggrandizing of that Monarchy, have found it neceſſary to *relax and retire* from the ſeverity of this Power, and to reſort to *popular Principles*: a Matter, which may deſerve the Conſideration of our *New Polititians* the *Hobbiſts*, who place all the virtue of the *French* Government in its *abſoluteneſs*: In the mean time I ſhall add, that notwithſtanding what I have ſaid, I do not pretend that the Condition of the *French* People, though made tolerable to the *French*, is comparable to the happineſs of thoſe whoſe greater Freedoms and Enjoyments are ſecured by Fundamental Laws and

Conſtitutions: But this I ſhall obſerve, That whereas formerly, when this People were wretchedly poor, almoſt every ſmall new Impoſition begot an *Inſurrection* in *France*, as the ſaid *De Gerrard* takes notice, the *French* now pay twenty times greater Taxes, with much more Satisfaction, becauſe they are enabled ſo to do; and beſides can live far more plentifully than before, many of the Traders ſplendidly, and gain conſiderable Eſtates: To all which may be added another particular, in which the late *French* Politicks deviate from the uſual *Jealous Maxims* of *Arbitrary Government*; which is a general care to inſtruct the *Plebeians* of all ſorts, in the *Diſcipline of Arms*.

The late ſwelling Power of *Spain* after the Suppreſſion of the *Spaniſh Cortes*, or Eſtates, derived from the *accidental* Diſcovery of the *Indian* Mines, and the preſent Power of *France* after the Suppreſſion of the *French* Eſtates, from as *accidental* an Improvement of their *Trade*, have been the occaſion that ſome out of miſtake, or deſign, have much applauded *that Form* of Government, when it muſt be Confeſſed that the ſame *Indian* Treaſure and Trade, would have rendred the ſame Nations, under the continuance of the Eſtates, or *England* under its *preſent Government* much ſtronger, and *more ſecure*, and this, by the advantages in *this Form* of Government.

Deſpotick,

Deſpotick, or *Arbitrary Monarchy*, was for many Ages as great a Stranger in this Part of the World, as *Republican Government*; As the *European* Nations by degrees caſt off the *Roman Yoke*, they had before their eyes the Example of their former *Miſtreſs*, the *Common-wealth* of *Rome*, which became Vaſſalized to her own *Servants*, by the unlimitted Power committed to Dictators and Generals; theſe aſſuming the Empire *by force*, and *without title*, were uncontrollable by Law, and therefore did not only gratifie *their own* Luſts, and juſt Fears of being ſupplanted by all manner of Cruelties, but their *Maſters the Soldiers* alſo, by the Spoils of the Provinces; nay, and of *Italy*, and *Rome* it ſelf; and yet were they very frequently killed, depoſed, and changed by the ſame force which ſet them up: To avoid the Miſchiefs on each ſide, as the Members of this Empire reſumed their National Rights, they univerſally cemented into a third Form of Government, much the ſame with *ours*: which, if we truly conſider it, appears purpoſely, and wiſely Calculated to prevent the Inconveniencies of the other two, and yet to take in all that is *excellent in either*; For firſt, we have a fixt Royal Legal Sovereignty, which filling the ſeat of Majeſty, fruſtrates the Ambitious hopes of others from ſtepping into it; Then we have the Conſtitution of *Parliaments*, by whoſe Interven-

tion, Liberty and Property are preſerved: Thus Revolutions and Oppreſſions *at home* are prevented. Then for the ſtrength of this Government *outwards* upon Forreign Nations, it muſt *in the Nature of it*, equal, if not exceed any other, eſpecially abſolute Monarchy; not only becauſe its greater *freedoms* capacitate the People to Trade with more advantage, as I ſhall yet more particularly ſhew, but becauſe the ſame *freedoms* beget a kind of Generoſity and Bravery even in the *common ſort*, when Abſoluteneſs of Government debaſes their Spirits, and reconciles them to the Ignominy of being *beaten*, at leaſt till they acquire a kind of *inſolence* by long Service in War, which can hardly be called *Courage*. All Experience hath warranted this odds between Freemen and Slaves; but there is yet a farther odds, when the Quarrel is *National*, eſpecially if eſpouſed both by the King and Parliament; for then the *individual* Animoſities of the *Whole* being engaged, the People do not meerly fight for Pay, but out of *Principle*, and in defence of thoſe greater Enjoyments they have at home, when the Vaſſals of Abſolute Monarchy are driven on by the fear of their *Deſpotical Power*, which they would be glad to ſee ſubverted, and themſelves delivered.

In an *Abſolute* Monarchy, the Fate of the Whole depends upon the *Prudence* of the Monarch;

narch; be his Empire never ſo flouriſhing, he may by one *temerarious Edict*, or other Act, bring all into Confuſion: How great muſt the Danger then be, when the wiſeſt of Mortal men are often tranſported by Paſſions, and otherwiſe liable to Miſtakes? The voluntary Councils of ſuch a Monarch muſt gratifie his Power by Applauding or Complying with his Reſolutions and Sentiments: But what if there come a *weak* Prince? againſt which there is no Security? Or ſuppoſe the King be left an *Infant?* then all goes to wrack: thoſe Armies which were the *ſupport* of the laſt Predeceſſor, wanting Buſineſs and Conduct, fall into *Mutinies*; all are working their Ambitious ends, many contending for the *Tuition* and Publick Adminiſtration; thoſe that have it not, ſupplanting thoſe that have, whereby the Government is endangered: all which was viſible during the whole Infancy of the preſent *French King*, though he had a *Mother*, and ſo faithful and wiſe a Miniſter as *Mazarine*: The high Animoſities of the *French Princes* and *Nobles*, carried them into continual Diſtractions and Civil Wars; ſo that had the *Engliſh*, or any other Neighbour Nation, then been in a Condition to have ſupported the Male-contents, they might have Subverted the *French Empire*: which *miſchiefs* are totally, or in a high meaſure avoided by the Conſtitution of *Parliaments*;

ments; without whose consent, Laws cannot be altered, or Publick Innovations made; and who by their course of *Impeachments* are a continual Check and Awe upon men of indirect and Ambitious designs: So that (according to the excellent Motto of our own Sacred Prince) it may be truly said of *such* a *Monarchy*, and its *Parliaments*, that they are to each other *Decus & Tutamen*: what would have become of the *French* Monarchy when their King *John* was Prisoner in *England*, had it not been for their Estates, or *Parliaments*? we have reason to believe, That were that *Crown and Nation* brought into great Exigencies and Distresses *by any Foreign Power*, they would be convened again; the Constitution being not *there* absolutely *dissolved*, as the said *De Gerrard* Observes; nothing can be fatal to such a Government, but a disunion between the Prince and Parliament; and therefore a great part of the transcendent Policy of this ~~our Form~~ of Government consists in the high *Obligations* and *means* of a *Union*: the Prince being invested with the mighty *Prerogatives* of making War and Peace, Calling, Prorogueing, and Dissolving *Parliaments*, and as many others as fill Volumes, hath such a Controll on the Parliament, that it is generally to be presumed, they will ever gratifie him in whatsoever is any way consistent with that *Trust* they are under; on the other

other ſide, the *Parliament*, being the great and High Council, and their Conſent requeſite to all new Taxes, whenſoever the Prince on any Emergency deſires their Advice, or a Supply of Money, the People muſt neceſſarily have time to repreſent their true grievances to him, whoſe Princely favour and occaſions, will then equally call upon him to redreſs what is really amiſs; *in which Commutation* he muſt have a far greater advantage than any *bare Tax* he receives; ſince as it appears, the true ſtrength of all Monarchies and Governments depend upon well-being Abilities, and Increaſe of the *Populacy*; which no other Prince hath Comparably ſo certain a means to underſtand and Improve, as he that hath a Parliament: To all which may be added, that *mutual Affection* which muſt naturally follow theſe Endearments, and which muſt render the Prince and Nation much the ſtronger, never to be hoped for in any other kind of Monarchy: There are yet farther Obligations to this *Union* between the Prince and People from a juſt ſenſe of thoſe fatalities which muſt follow a *diſunion*; we need not reſort farther than to the Fable where we have an Accompt of a quarrel between the ſeveral Limbs of the Body Natural, whereof the Conſequence was, that every part grew preſently Languid and Impotent, and ready to yield it ſelf a Feaſt to the *Ravens*.

If

If then there be the utmoſt Advantages on the one ſide, and Miſchiefs on the other, this is all humane Prudence can provide; God himſelf hath done no more in thoſe Divine Inſtitutions which he hath projected for the Support, Felicity, and Security of Mankind: againſt which, it hath never yet been accounted any Objection that they have been violated; nor is it any againſt the form of our Government, that it hath fallen into ſome Convulſions; as long as Men are Men, there will be pravity and irregular Appetites amongſt them, which in ſome Ages and Circumſtances may be able to give greater Diſturbances than in others; if in any Society of Men, unreaſonable and deſtructive Propoſitions are inſiſted upon, or reaſonable and neceſſary ones refuſed, diſunions are inevitable: This I ſay in general, 'tis no part of my deſign to Rub up old Sores, nor will it, I preſume, be expected I ſhould embroil the preſent Subject by vindicating Sides or Parties; let the Conſequences of former diſunions be remembred.

But why ſhould I dwell longer upon Arguments to evince the admirable Frame of our Government, when it is ſo unanſwerably demonſtrated by its former Splendid continuance for near 100 years? by the glory of our Princes, who, in Conjunction with their Parliaments, ever were, and thought themſelves the greateſt

greatest and happiest in *Europe*: by their stupendious Atchievements in War, and by the former ready Adherence, and large Contributions of our Parliaments, in what tended to the Advantage or Honour of *England*; we had no other form of Government in our *Edward* the Third, or *Henry* the Fifth's time, who Successively found Supplies of English *Treasure* and *Courage* enough to Conquer *France*; our Queen *Elizabeth* since, baffled the *Despotick*, and then tremendous Monarchy of *Spain*, which continuing absolute, is (notwithstanding its vast extent of Territory) one of the weakest in *Europe*: had our *Henry* the Seventh entertained the Overtures of *Columbus*. or our Councils in the Reign of King *James*, or since the wise Observations of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, or followed the example of *France*, and other Neighbouring Nations, in easing and improving our Trade, there is no doubt but the *English* Treasures and Power had far surmounted both the *Spanish* and *French* at this day: It is notorious that the Subjects of the late *Dukes* of *Burgundy*, under the Constitutions of Estates, or *Parliaments*, for many succeeding Ages, drove a mighty Trade, which gave those Dukes a long Superiority over the *Absolute French* King, till the Dukedom became annexed to *Spain*, and the *Spaniards* by their Persecution for Conscience,

See Sir *William Temple* of the *Dutch*, cap. 1.

science, and Tyrannous Attempts after Arbitrary Government lost both the Trade and Traders and Seven of the Provinces, whom they forced into a Republick.

Treasures are those *Vehicles* which carry out men of *daring Spirits*, mighty *Thoughts* and *Abilities* into the Conquest of Forreign Countries, there is no Nation but hath a *breed* of People naturally more fit for these great Performances than any other, who growing Generals or other Commanders at Land or Sea or Intendants in the greatest Negotiations might, this way, prove highly Serviceable to the Publick, and find business for *Pen-men* to write their *Memoirs*, as in *France* they do whereas, by the want of a sufficient home Treasure, the more Couragious sort, must either be *Hackneys* to Forreigners, or degenerate into *Hectors* or *Thieves* at home, and are killed in Brawles, or are hanged for Murther or Robberies. The more *Deliberative* generously regarding the common Exigencies, more than their own, may lie under the frowns of Fortune, and great Men, and be thought burthensom and dangerous: there are many other Disadvantages which follow a National Poverty, as hath been noted before, which ought not to be ascribed to this or that mere Form of Government, or temper of the People.

That

That a ſpeedy and Compleat Regulation of our *Engliſh* Trade may yet further appear highly neceſſary, I ſhall briefly obſerve what have been the more Modern Effects of this mighty Trade in *France*.

This may too plainly be ſeen by the great performances of the *French* in theſe laſt Wars, in which, the *French* King hath been able to maintain above 250000 Men in Arms, whom he hath duly paid; and yet ſuch have been his Treaſures, That he hath not been obliged to put the event of the War to the *puſh* of a Battel; but wearies out his Enemies with Expence from year to year, and being able to lay up mighty Stores, can keep the Fields in the *Winter*, when his Adverſaries, though as valiant People as any on the Earth, are fain to lye at home: Thus watching his Advantages, he hath Taken and Burnt many ſtrong Towns, laid many Provinces waſt, breathing out Death and Devaſtations as he goes. This he hath done in the face of the world, in a War with near 20 Princes and States, whoſe lamentable Sufferings, with the Cries of their People, have long pierced our ears; whilſt the *French* King grows more Vigorous and Powerful, and his Armies grow better Diſciplined continually, and hath at laſt reduced the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* to the Terms of a diſhonourable Peace, by expoſing their Allies to the *French* Power; which

which hath obliged the reſt to a Complyance on his own Terms; and now he gives the Law to them All, keeping mighty Armies on foot to Invade whom he pleaſes: But that which is yet more Prodigious is, that even during this War, he hath been able to carry on the Building of his preſent *great Fleet*, conſiſting of about 200 Ships of War, plentifully Armed with Braſs Guns, and accurately built for Service; he hath alſo furniſhed himſelf with abundant of Naval Proviſions of all ſorts, at an immenſe Charge, every Ship having its diſtinct Stores and Storehouſe, and therefore may be made ready on a ſuddain: At the ſame time, he hath imployed multitudes of Men in cutting of Canals through Rocks and Mountains, in making, cleanſing, and ſecuring Havens upon the Coaſts oppoſite, or near to *England* (whither by degrees, in theſe two or three years paſt, he hath drawn down the greateſt part of his Navy) and at the ſame time hath anſwered mighty Annual Penſions to the *Swedes*, and *Swiſſes*, (whoſe lives he buys with his Money) beſides all the other vaſt private Penſions, Gratuities and Aids he beſtows in the Courts and Countreys of other Princes, (by which, perhaps he hath made as great Advantages as by his Arms:) and yet 'tis probable, that in all this he hath not exceeded the bounds of his ordinary Revenue.

That

That which most threatens the Trade of *England*, is his *Naval Force*, which none of his Predecessors ever had, and were checked if they pretended to it; Queen *Elizabeth* forbad *Henry the 4th.* of *France* (on a suddain called the Great) Building great Ships, else she would fire them in his Harbours: Since which the *French* have desisted, till about the year 1664. as may appear by that excellent Treatise, intituled, *A free Conference*, Printed in 1667. by the special Appointment of the truly Honourable the Lord *Arlington*, where *Pag.* 49. we find these words, "Not above three years "ago, *France* was hardly able to set out 20 "Ships; (that is to say, Men of War) now "they have 60 large Vessels ready furnished, "and well Armed, and do apply their Industry "in every part to Augment the number, *&c.* I shall forbear repeating some sharp Reflections which next follow.

And that the *French* King might want no *Seamen* of his own, and might at least *share* in the Gain of *Navigation*, he hath for several years past endeavoured by all Imaginable Encouragements to establish a mighty Navigation in *France*; so that for one Trading *French* Ship there was 20 or 30 years since, there are now 40. For this purpose he hath Propagated a Sea-Fishery, to a very great degree, which improves daily to the prejudice of our remain-

ing *English* Fishery; and besides, hath yearly educated Supernumerary Seamen on Board the *French* Trading Ships, at his own Charge; so that 'tis to be feared he will stand in little need of Forreign *Seamen* for his Ships of War; or if he do, the *Dutch* have Store, which perhaps he may have for his Money, as 'tis probable he may the Fleets of *Swedeland*, *Portugal* and *Algiers*; these his Allies of *Algiers*, (as 'tis said, by the assistance of his Money upon a general Redemption of *French* Slaves) are on a sudden gotten from 10 to above 40 Men of War; and as soon as our Applications in *France* had prevailed with the *French* to desist from taking our Ships, these *Algiers* Pyrats fell upon us, and have continually pick't up our Merchantmen, and Vassalized our Seamen and other People ever since; they now do it before our faces, in our Channel, finding Harbour in the *French* opposite parts, which makes a great Addition to our late Losses; and, which is yet worse, hath so terrified our *Seamen* and *Merchants*, that many already think it necessary to trade in *Dutch* and *French Bottoms*, a Consequence which 'tis probable might be foreseen by some of our Neighbors, who wish we had neither Ships nor Seamen.

Note, most of that Fleet which the *Algerines* had (which was but small) was destroyed by the *English* at Cape *Spartill*, and *Bugia*, about eight years since; They have since Built 40 Men of War, from 20 to 50 Guns and upwards, besides Brigantines, Gallies, &c.

A

At the same time our Gazetts weekly tell us of great Squadrons of *French* Men of War, proudly ranging in all Quarters of the World, in the *Mediterranean*, in the *East* and *West Indies*, and in our own Seas, viewing the Strengths and Weaknesses, and Sounding and Commanding the Harbours of other Nations.

We find it said in the *Free Conference*, That *France* is our Hereditary Enemy, and hath so often tryed what we are able to do against the enlarging of their Empire, who have graven it deep on their hearts, the injury of the Title, which to their shame *England* bears in all Publick Treaties, and her Trophies in reference to that Crown: This very *France* hath no greater desire than to take the *Dominion* of the *Sea* from us, &c.

If we look into the before-mentioned *French Projects*, they assure us of the same; of which piece, because I so often cite it, I shall first give the Reader some *present* Accompt, and *further*, when I have done with it: "The *English* Preface tells us, the Author was a "Person bred up under Monsieur *Colebert*, and "to shew his Abilities, writ this Treatise, and "in Manuscript presented it to the *French* "King, which was favourably received; but "afterwards Vanity prompting him to publish "it in Print, the King look't upon him as one

"that had *discovered his Secrets*, and turning "his favour into frowns, caused him to be Im- "prisoned in the *Bastile*, where he continued "a long time, and afterwards was Banished, &c. 'tis like to some place where he should not be able to aver the same, or disclose more Secrets; what opportunities he might have of learning Secrets by his Attendance on Monsieur *Colebert*, whether he might over-hear the Debates and Results of the *French* Councils, or whether Casually, or by order he had a View of the Papers, and was but the servile Compiler, or bare Porter of this Scheme or Manual of Policies, I leave to be examined; a stupendious piece it is, which being written seven or eight years since, and presaging so great a part of what hath followed, gives so considerable an Authority to it self, that its Credit need not depend upon that of the Author of the *Growth of Popery*; who, as 'tis hinted in the *English* Preface, calls it the Measures of the *French* King's Designs.

These Politicks having first delineated the Comprehensive and steddy Founda- tions of the *French* Monarchy, as built upon Trade, Treasure, and Populacy at home, they then proceed to look abroad, and first they project the Ingrossing of all Commerce at Sea, and this *at a lump*, by imploying part of this Treasure in Building a Fleet of

Pag. 162, 163.

Men

Men of War able to Command it, in which they say, "All things Conspire to give the "*French* hopes of Success; the work how-"ever is such as must be *leisurely* carried "on, and perfected by little and little, so *great* "*a Design continually Alarming Europe, Asia,* "*Africa*, and *America*, Friends and Foes; a "Precipitation of it would be its Ruine, Six "or Ten years time might be Allotted for it: "The King may keep 100 Gallies, and 100 "Ships in the Mediterranean, and 200 Sail "upon the *Ocean*, the more Vessels he shall "have, the more enabled he will be to reco-"ver the Expence made about them: The Sea "will yield Maintenance for the Sea, either "by Commerce or War; There is Timber in "*France*, there is Cordage, there are Sails, "there is Iron and Brass, *&c.* When things "have taken their Course, Seamen will be had "in time, and the profit that will accrew will "afford Store, and bring them in *from all Parts* "*of the World.*

"The Fleets with the King might Pag. 165. "keep upon the *Ocean*, would make him Ma-"ster of all the *Powers and Trade* of the *North*; "yea, though the *Hollander* and *English* should "*Unite* against *France*, they could not avoid "their Ruine *in the end*; for how could the "one or the other make good their Commerce "(which is all they have to trust to) if they

"were forced to keep great Armadoes to con-
"tinue it? The Point of *Britain* is the *Gate* to
"enter into, and go out of the *Channel*: Fifty
"Ships of War at *Brest*, would keep this *Gate*
"*fast shut*, and they would not open it but by
"the Kings Command.—*Thus there would need*
"*no War almost to be made for all these things,*
"*nor His Majestie's Forces hazarded: They will*
"*be sufficient to give his Orders to Forreigners;*
"*nor will it be difficult to cut them out work in*
"*their own Countries*, and by this means stay
"their Arms at home, and make them spend
"their strengths there; something of this in
"its place hereafter.

"His Majestie's Power being thus strongly
"setled in each Sea, it will be safe to *secure*
"Commerce in *France*, and even *draw* the
"Merchants thither from all parts; I say *secure*
"Commerce; for till this be done, it will
"ever be incertain and dangerous.

It may not be improper to observe, with some reference to what hath been debated in the preceding Sections, what further Expedients the *French* Politicks dictate in this Chapter, for the *securing* of Commerce. Amongst others we there find this Caution; "It must
"be studiously prevented that Commerce in-
"troduce not into a *State-Superfluity*, *Excess*,
"and *Luxury*, which are often follow-
Pag. 169. "ed with Ambition, Avarice, and a *dan-*
"*gerous*

"gerous Corruption of Manners: It is "added, That it hath been a queſtion "offered to debate, whether Traffick in *France* "ſhould be *managed by Subjects or Forreigners*, "to make a ſhort deciſion; 'tis evident that "Forreigners muſt be allowed to gain our Mer- "chandizes, if we would have them take them "off, if we carry them into their Ports, we "ſhall make leſs Sales; yet, That our Merchants "may *ſhare in the profit*, they may enter into "Partnerſhip with them, or be their Commiſ- "ſioners here, or Freight them themſelves, "provided they ſell at ſomewhat *cheaper* "*Rates*, and *ſo be content with moderate Gain*. Pag. 171.

Which paſſages I have cited to ſhew, That 'tis no part of their Politicks *to increaſe Luxuries or Exceſs*; nor to incloſe their home and Forreign Market to their *own Navigation or Merchants*. See Sir *William Temple* of the *Dutch*, Pag. cited before, *Sect.* 12.

I have been thus long tracing the *French* Politicks, and our own unfortunate Methods in the matter of Trade, and this out of a hope to occaſion the Reſtitution and Increaſe *of ours*; but have gone ſo far in the purſuit, that on a ſudden I have ſtep't into a Scene of Horrors, by a neceſſary and inevitable Apprehenſion of the Dangers we are in, from the preſent *French* Powers; it is impoſſible for any man to cloſe up the eye of his Reaſon, when he ſees a Ghaſtly

Troop of Ruins making their regular Approaches againſt his Prince and his Countrey, and therein threatning many Millions of poor Innocents, and of theſe ſome Millions, who hardly *knew their right hands from their left*, with Butcheries and Violations of all kinds; in ſuch a Caſe, Silence would be the greateſt and fouleſt of Barbarities, and no better than an Apoſtacy from the ſacred Duties of *Allegiance* and *Self-Preſervation*.

Shall we flatter our ſelves with an opinion that the *French* have no inclination to turn their mighty Treaſures, Land and Sea-Forces upon us? How poor, weak, incertain and diſhonourable is ſuch a Security? Are we ſo tenacious of every little pretence of Right at home, and ſo buſie to get a Penny, and yet ſhall be content to enjoy our Lives and Eſtates by no better a Tenure than the diſcretion of the *French*? whoſe Councils are dark and inſcrutable, and who by their late Invaſion of *Flanders*, contrary to former Leagues and Sanctions, and the then Aſſurances of the *French* Miniſters, have at leaſt demonſtrated, that they moſt intend what they leaſt profeſs; Is *England* become ſo deſpicable a Spot, as not to be worth the Acqueſt? Is it not equal to *Flanders*, or the *Iſland* of *Sicily*?

See *The Buckler of State and Juſtice*, Printed in (67) by the ſpecial Appointment of the Honorable the Lord *Arlington*.

Is

Is it not evident that the present *French* King aims at the Trade of the World, and particularly of the North? doth he not want Ports? will it not be more grateful to him to engross the Woollen Manufacture by securing the *English Wool*, than to stand to our Courtesie? Hath not *England* most other valuable *Materials*, by which he might yet mightily enlarge the Trade of *France*? Can he hope to proceed in his Conquests on the Continent, whilest he leaves so dangerous an Enemy *at his Rere*? Doth he not know the *Spirit* of our People? Are our *Talbots*, and *Bedfords* forgotten? Did he not see us raise a considerable Army the other day to check his Progress? Is he not exasperated by our late Prohibition of *French* Goods, which touches him in the most tender Concern of his Trade? Doth he not think himself affronted in the face of the World? What can be so grateful to a Prince Ambitious of Glory, and to the *French* Nation in general, as to render those *English*, their *Hewers of Wood*, and *Drawers of Water*, who have so often Triumphed in *France*? Will they not endeavour to obliterate that *Title England* bears in her publick Treaties? Will not such an Acquist ennoble the name of the present *French* King, above all those of his Ancestors? What a mighty and useful Purchase will he have in a *Seminary* of *able Men* and *Horses*, whose value he hath reason to understand, and which he may then

draw out into his Wars at his pleasure, what spacious Possessions and Commanderies would *England* and its *Dominions* afford to his *French* Officers, to whom it may be no little Temptation to have the deflowring and violating of our most beautiful Women, being such as the whole Earth cannot Parallel: A thousand other particulars might be accumulated, of which it is not the least that here would be a vast accession of Preferments for the numerous *French Popish Clergy*, and then what would become of ours? And shall we think the *French* Councils are insensible of these Advantages? Have they who have been nicely *winnowing* all the rest of their Neighbouring Countreys, forgotten ours? if we resort again to the *French Politicks*, we shall have no reason to think so; we see before what they design upon our Commerce, from thence they proceed to project Conquests at Land; The *French Romances* spake us nothing but *Love and Honour*, and in truth make a very *pleasing divertisement*; but their Politicks denounce *Subjugation and Vassallage*: if we follow them from Countrey to Countrey, what they say of *ours*, will appear more considerable; thus they begin: "It *were*

"*to be wisht that the King did add to*

Pag. 153. "*his Kingdom all the Low Countries* to "the *Rhine*,—It would make him *Master of the* "*Northern Seas*, &c. (what Progress the *French*

King

King hath made towards *this Conquest*, and why he found himself obliged to desist for the present, need not be repealed, no doubt but the French *bear it in Memory*) "Secondly, "it were convenient the King had "*Strasburgh* to keep all *Germany* in "*quiet*, &c. (Our Gazetts may inform us what Advances he hath made towards the reducing of this great strength, and he is now storing all his adjacent Magazines). "In the third place *he had need to have the* French Comte to lay a restraint upon the *Swisses*, &c. (This he hath since gotten). "In the fourth place, "*Millan* is necessary in respect of *Italy*, &c. (Of this we have yet heard no more than that he hath been *bargaining* for a passage by *Casall*). "In the fifth place, *Genoa*; —Genoa *would make* "*the King Master of the Mediterranean Sea*, &c. (This he hath so far proceeded in, that he hath obliged the *Genoeses* to harbour his Ships, and to almost what other Conditions he pleases. In the fifth Chapter, dictating how *France* should act with Forreign Princes after a most exquisite Scrutiny into the ill adjusted Councils, and Luxuries of the *Spanish* Grandees, 'tis said, "Their Forces are not to be feared, "Scicily *might easily make an Insurrection*, &c. (We have seen what followed). *Portugal* is a perpetual Instru-

Pag. 154

Beginning Pag. 183.

Pag. 186.

Pag. 187.

Pag. 188.

ment

" ment for *the weakening* Spain, &c. (*So it hath*
" *remained*) " The *Venetians* and People of *Ita-*
" *ly* are wise; to reduce them to our Intentions,
" we must work by down-right force, &c. The
" *Pope* will ever Consider *France, because of the*
" *County of* Avignon: The *Hollanders* will keep
" themselves to our Alliance as much as possi-
" bly they may,—They are rich. *It were expe-*
" *dient the King did interpose in their Affairs,*
" *and that some divisions be sown amongst them:*
(we see what hath ensued:) " The
Pag. 189. " *Swisses* are *Mercenaries*, who will
" always serve the King for his Money: (*so*
" *they have done ever since*) The King of *Den-*
" *mark* is a Prince whose State is but small, &c.
" *Sweden* will never break off from the Inte-
" rests of *France*, we ought to consi-
Pag. 194. " der them as Instruments which *for*
" *our Money* we may make Use of to divert the
" *English* or *Holland* Forces, when His Majesty
" makes any *Enterprize* which *pleaseth them*
not, &c. (*Success hath verified this, and*
Pag. 195. *may further:*) *The Friendship of the*
Turk *is good for* France, to be made Use of on
occasion against the *Emperor:* (our Gazetts have
informed us what Essays there have been; and
at last the *Turk* was brought upon *Muscovy*,
whereby the *Swedish* Army in *Livonia* was let
loose upon the Confederates.

Of

Of All others, these Politicks speak most confidently of the Conquest of the *English*; they observe, that "*We have no Friends*," and "are positive, "that a War of *France* "*for three or four years*, would ruine "us: (which 'tis evident must be said out of a sense *they have* of their *odds* in *National Treasure*; for by the Import of the words and Context, they cannot be spoken on supposition the *French should attacque us unawares*, (which God prevent:) Hereupon it follows "so it seems reasonable that we should make no "Peace with them, *viz.* the *English*, *but on* "*Conditions of the greatest Advantage to us*, "unless the King think fit to defer the Execu-"tion of this *Projett* for another time: To make *sure and quick work.*) 'Tis farther thought fit that ways should be found to disable our Government by great Expences, and by Dis-unions and Convulsions; from which 'tis manifest, the *French* are *well aware* in what the *virtue* of our *Government* consists, and therefore know how to strike at the *root*: There are divers indirect Expedients proposed, which I shall forbear, being somewhat Prolix, and mixt with Contemptuous and Reflective Expressions: It is enough to observe here from whence the *French Politicks* hope for our *English Harvest*, and that this is the *work at home* before intended to be cut out for us. This

Pag. 189. Pag. 190.

See before Pag.

This *great Prince* hath thought fit hitherto to defer a *formal War* upon us, at least, under that Denomination; but whether he hath deferred the *Project* as those Politicks call it, may depend upon a Consideration of what he hath been *visibly* doing ever since; he hath been since building his Fleet, amassing his Naval Stores, Educating and Providing Seamen and Harbours, wasting and disabling those Neighbouring Empires and States, who being jealous of his Power, might otherwise have interposed in his Carriere, getting those great Passes and Strengths into his hands, by which they might have entred his Countrey, he hath been disciplining a victorious and mighty Army, and exhausting us by his Trade, with a great Addition of loss by his Capers; (the *French* are very curious at Cooking their Morsels before they eat them) and at last hath, as it were, *forced* a general Peace, even whilst he was Victorious, by which he is left at entire Liberty: of which Peace, whilst it was under Negotiation, and drawing to a Conclusion, a wise and noble Lord of our time, gave this his sence to both our Houses of Parliament: "The "influence such a Peace may "have upon our affairs, is fit-

The present Lord Chancellour in his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 23d of *May*, 1678.

"ter for *Meditation* than discourse, only this is "evident, that by the Preparations we have "made

"made for *War*, (*viz.* in the raising of our late "Army, &c.) and by the *Prohibition* we have "made of Trade, we have given no small Pro- "vocations to so mighty a King, who may be "at leisure enough to resent them if he please; "and therefore it will Import us so to streng- "then our selves both at home and abroad, "that it may not be found a cheap and easie "thing to put an Affront upon us. I need not inform any *English* Reader, what fatal Appre- hensions the same Parliament had of the Con- sequences of such a Peace; they are in ordinary Memory; can we think this Fleet of Men of War is built to be employed in the Fishery, or to lye and rot in their Harbours? Can this Army profitably, or safely be supported Idle? Will he suffer them to be tainted with Luxury? Will he hazard Animosities or Factions a- mongst the numerous *French* Nobles (by whom this Army is Officer'd) the Mutinies of the Sol- diers, or Insurrections of his own People? Will he not rather send these Armed Heards to graze in our sweet Mea- dows, and to gather him fresh Laurels out of our *English* Gardens?

The Gazett for Monday *Decemb.* 29. gives us this Adver- tisement. *Hamburgh, Dec.* 22. The *French* have hired all the Vessels in this River, and the *West*, which used to go to *France*, and return with Wines, on which they mean to Trans- port great Quantities of *Oats, and other Corn* (which they are therefore *buying up in these Parts*) to *Calais, Dunkirk*, and *other Places on that Coast.*

It may reasonably add to our Fear, that

we

we see the *French* King hath lately made so strict Alliances with *Spain*, and with *Bavaria*, by which he is farther secured from any Inroads from those Parts; and that we also find him so vigilant to prevent our Leaguing with the *Dutch*, and to come to some closer Conjunction with them himself; in which his Ministers use the utmost Arts, mixt with a sort of Menaces; I cannot but resort again to the *French Politicks*, where in the close of those Methods by which the *French* King may obtain an easie and intire Conquest of *England*, we find it farther dictated thus, "On the other
Pag. 192. "hand, *our League with the* Hollanders "*should be renewed, and they put into a belief*, "that *we should give them all the Trade still*, "because they have the knowledge of it, and "are proper for it; whereas (*as 'tis to be sug-*"*gested*) the *French* have no Inclination that "way, and Nature cannot be forced; they *must* "*be told* that now they are come to *the happy* "*time* for advancing their Affairs, and ruining "their Competitors in the Sovereignty of the "Northern Seas: we see these Politicks go through stitch in the business. And that upon the Whole they were very unfit to be Printed; no man who had so much Wit as to be the real Author, could have so little as to publish them; and the rather, because of Another Secret amongst the rest very improper to be divulged

at

at that time, *viz.* a Projection how to ſuppreſs the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*, as ſoon as it might be done with Security, in reſpect of what Aſſiſtance or Places of retirement, they might have from Neighbouring Proteſtants, and yet the Methods propoſed are not by direct Severities, which may give us occaſion to call to mind *that diſcountenance of Proteſtants*, we lately hear of in *France*; of what Extraction this piece is, I leave to be conſidered; only adding, that it ſeems incredible a private *French-man* out of the Mint of his own Brain, could foretel ſo great part of the *French* Actions for the years ſucceeding; That the ſtyle of it is Magiſterial, much in the *Imperative Mood*, a ſort of Expreſſion we find in the Emperour *Juſtinian*'s Inſtitutions, but little ſuitable to the Addreſs of a Subject to a Sovereign; 'tis alſo viſible how little labour he uſes to evince the higheſt Concluſions and Maxims of State, which are moſtly propoſed ſingle, as if agreed upon; ſhould it be admitted the ſole work of the ſuppoſed Author, the Conſequence preſſes us more nearly, when we ſee private *Frenchmen* arrived to that ripeneſs of Policy, and in particular, know *our* Circumſtances ſo well; What then are we to conjecture of the *Capital* French *Councils*? I am not ſo vain as to think ſo great a Prince as the *French* King, is wholly and meerly Governed by this, or

any other Scheme of Politicks, he can doubtleſs take new meaſures, as ſubſequent Negotiations or Accidents, then unſeen, have offered; but 'tis as little to be doubted, but there was a time when he ſate down and conſidered the grand Materials of that mighty Tower which we already ſee mounted ſo high.

What Succeſs the preſent Overtures of the *French* King will receive in *Holland*, a little time may ſhew; perhaps things are gone ſo far, that the *Hollanders* will not eaſily be flattered into an Opinion they ſhall be *Sovereigns of the Sea*: But whether they may cloſe with him upon his Aſſurances of being Protected in a great degree of Freedoms & Trade, may be a queſtion: They know the *French* King is a Conſiderate Prince, and muſt be ſenſible that they are his *Porters*, That their Countrey being naturally a *bogg*, can be no otherwiſe valuable to him than by ſupporting a Trade there, and keeping the People together: They may be told, that the *French* King having already ſo vaſt a Revenue, will ſtand in need of leſs Taxes from them than they already pay, and can live without picking their Bones; and ſo it may be, as long as he pleaſes; 'tis certain this People are exhauſted by the War, and know the Strength, and will therefore fear the wrath of this mighty Borderer; the *French Politicks* ſay, that he will be able to ruine them and us in *Conjunction*, by diſturbing

diſturbing our *Commerce at Sea:* He is now in a far better Capacity, by the Neighbouring Acqueſts at Land he hath ſince gotten: how ſoon therefore may he *diſable*, or *influence* this People, ſhould they become our *Allies*; and how neceſſary is it upon the Whole to truſt to, and *ſuddenly* Improve our own Strengths? We ſee but the other day how they were forced to deſert, and give up their late Allies, and are adviſed by *the beſt of Councellors*, not to lean too much on a *broken Reed*, leſt it *pierce our hands:* This of all others, would be the moſt fatal, and certain Expedient of our Ruine.

For my own part, I am one of thoſe many whoſe Life and Intereſts are imbarqued in the Publick, and who, upon a general *Skipwrack*, have no Proſpect to get off in the *Long-boat*; but muſt expect to be ſwallowed up in the Common inundation, or if I ſurvive, to die daily by a ſence of my own miſery, and the Sufferings of thoſe that are as near and dear to me as my life. Self-preſervation is a Principle to which God, Nature, and the Fundamental Conſtitutions of Humane Society require us to adhere; I do not project my own Security only, but that of my Countrey, and therefore hope none amongſt us will be offended at it; if any be, let them examine with their own Conſciences, and others judge, whether *their* deſigns are not very *different*, I make

no doubt, but that all the generous part, even of the great *French Nation*, will think I have done but my *Duty*; and that, ſhould it ever lye in their Power to afflict or eaſe me, which God divert. I could not more certainly intitle my ſelf to their favour, than by having once aſſerted the Intereſts of this my Native Country.

I ſhall add, that thoſe our other formidable Neighbours the *Dutch*, having now made Peace with the *French*, remain the ſame Government and People, and under the ſame Conſtitutions and Capacities of out-ſtripping us in Trade, as before; nay, of offending us, eſpecially in Conjunction with *France*, whoſe Commodities they Buy and Barter off as before; their Neceſſities are ſuch, that they will utter more than ever; unleſs, perhaps, for Politick Reaſons reſtrained by ſome Act of their State.

And now having examined the Different Policies and Conſtitutions of Trade in *France*, the *United Provinces*, and *England*, with the different Operations of it, and the preſent Poſture of things between us; It muſt appear, that in order to our future National Security, it is indiſpenſably and ſpeedily neceſſary to improve and regulate our Trade to the utmoſt.

And here I was about to conclude, but that ſeveral Perſons have objected, that our Trade is ſufficiently regulated by our late *Prohibition of* French *Goods*; this, by what I have ſaid already,

ready, muſt appear a miſtake: But that I may leave no umbrage for private Intereſt, I ſhall more particularly apply my ſelf to clear it.

Perhaps this *Prohibition* hath *ſomewhat* prejudiced the Trade of *France*, and may for the next year, which yet I ſhall not admit.

But ſuppoſing this, yet it will not *better* the Trade of *England* (though it might tend to the Security of *England* ſhould the prejudice it brings to the *French* Trade, be ſo great as to diſable the *French* Monarchy.) But this it will not do, for which I ſhall give theſe Reaſons.

Firſt, upon the Queſtion how much it may prejudice the *French* Trade, I ſhall obſerve that the Prohibition it ſelf extends only to *Wines, Brandy, Linnen, Salt, Silk, Paper, Vinegar and Manufactures made or mixed with Silk, Thread, Wooll, Hair, Gold, Silver, or Leather*; Now if we look back in Mr. *Fortreys* Accompt, we ſhall find many other chargeable Commodities imported from *France*; 'tis true many of them were prohibited by former Laws, but then were, and ſtill may be Imported as freely as before the late Prohibition: The Yearly value of theſe very Imported Commodities thus formerly Prohibited, have been uſually computed at above 500000 *l. per Annum.*

Secondly, 'Tis already found, and 'twill be more and more diſcovered every day that great

quantities even of the Goods Prohibited by the late Act, are and will be Imported; For I ſhall again obſerve here, that *meer Prohibitory Laws* never did, or can anſwer the ends they were intended for, being made in reſtraint of the Effects, without removing the Cauſes, whilſt it remains the Intereſt of Traders to elude the Prohibition; Nay, the Importation of *French* Goods is now become a far more gainful buſineſs than ever; for now the mighty Cuſtoms are taken of; which is ſo much clear gain to the Importers.

Therefore there is no doubt but that private Traders (whoſe buſineſs it is to increaſe their private Stocks) will Import if they can: Then let it be conſidered who they are who muſt make the Seiſures; Theſe are the *Officers of Ports*, viz. Searchers, Waiters, *&c.* upon whoſe Integrity and Diligence all the virtue of this or any Prohibition does depend; Now how Indigent, Mercenary, and Negligent many of theſe are, we are not to learn; nor are we to expect their extraordinary Induſtry or Fidelity in this Caſe; becauſe this Prohibitory Act gives them nothing for their pains; ſo they muſt ſpend their Money and Time in Seiſures, and Suits, and all for nothing; beſides, we have long Tracts of Coaſts and Creeks in *England*, where hardly any Officers attend, or if they do, cannot hinder Clandeſtine Importations;

the

the Inſufficiency of meer Prohibitory Laws is verified by the Prohibited Exportation of Money out of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *England*, Wooll out of *Ireland*, and *England*, and the Exuberant Importation of many ſorts of Goods from *France*, and other Parts long *ſince Prohibited by our former Statutes*; and yet theſe Laws give ſufficient incouragement to Informers.

See 3 *Edw.* c. 4. 1 *Rich.* 3d. 12. 5 *Eliz.* 7.

Then if the Goods *laſt Prohibited* may be *Imported*, they will certainly find *Vent*. How few in *England*, if any, can poſitively Swear this or that is *French* Manufacture on the mere *view*? Nor are our People apt to Inform; and will be leſs, when it ſhall come to be the Common Intereſt of Traders to connive; Nay, our learned Wine-Drinkers will tell us, that the very Wines may be vended in mixtures, making Sack of White Wine and Malaga, Sherry of White-Wine and Brandy, Rheniſh of White-Wine, Porto-Port of Clarets; theſe they ſay are ordinary Performances: But to prevent this trouble, our Vintners commonly ſell *French* Wine as before.

Upon the Whole, I ſhall leave it to be computed how *near a Million* our *French* overballance may be, even during the Prohibition, not forgetting the Curteſie of our Merchants, who hearing of the Prohibition Imported a Store of *French* Goods, to the value of about a Million.

Then conſidering the mighty Trade the *French* ſtill drive with other Nations, the *French* Monarchy muſt be ſo far from being diſabled by our late Prohibition, that we muſt expect it will grow more vigorous and formidable; and the rather becauſe of the flowing Treaſures already Imported, and Warlike Stores provided in *France*; ſo Politickly hath the *French* King managed the matter, that (except his Forreign Penſions) his Wars have Exported little Treaſure, ſince it hath circulated back into *France* by the hands of his *French* Purveyors and Sutlers, and thence again paſſes to his Exchequer.

I ſhall now Conſider, whether the late Prohibition may better *our* Trade, and how much; which is a queſtion wholly diſtinct from the other, (though the violence of our common reſentments againſt the *French*, make it ſeem almoſt the ſame:) For it does not follow that every thing which will prejudice the Trade of one Nation, ſhall better the Trade of another: But this falls out to be ſo, or not, as other Nations are by their Conſtitutions in Trade more or leſs capable of Trade; for Example, If the *French* Trade ſhould fail, it would not better the *Spaniſh* Trade, who by their high Cuſtoms and other Cloggs on Trade, are made incapable of it; nay it would hinder the *Dutch* Trade, becauſe the *Dutch* Trade conſiſts ſo much in Carriage,

Carriage, at leaſt till the *Dutch* could be furniſhed with the ſame bulk of vendible Commodities from ſome other Nation; ſo would the ruine of the *Dutch* Trade from Port to Port injure the *French* Trade, till *their* own, or ſome other Neighbouring Navigation could ſupply the Room of the *Dutch*.

Now if we look back to the Grounds and Reaſons of the decay of our *Engliſh* Trade, we ſhall find them to be no other then our own ill Conſtitutions in Trade, which are not a whit remedied by the *French* Prohibition, and therefore will prevent any advantage we might perhaps otherwiſe receive from it.

Our Home and Forreign Markets remain obſtructed as before, we retain the ſame chargeable Navigation in all the before mentioned particulars; we are over charged with Cuſtoms, and Intereſt Money; we are under the ſame diſadvantages by our Act of Navigation, by the Monopolies of our Merchants, of our Trading Companies, and Freemen; nay of Forreigners upon us: Our Manufacturs and other Exportations are now as much confined to the value of the Goods imported, as before; we have no more Manufacturers, Merchants, or other People, no more Ships, or Stocks, in Home, or Forreign Trade, than before; no more National Riches than before; we have ſtill the ſame Acts of 5 *Eliz.* 4. The ſame Acts againſt

againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters: The *Iriſh* and *Scoth* Trades remain diverted, the ſame encouragements of Scholar-like Educations, and neceſſity of the Increaſe of Shop-keeping; we have the ſame Laws againſt the Naturalizing of Forreigners; againſt the introducing of Forreign Manufactures, Stocks, and Riches; the ſame debauched Elections, and all the other burthens on our Trade mentioned before, with the Conſequential difficulties: There is the ſame Exportation of Wooll from *Ireland*, and *England*, and there remains the ſame Delicacy, Luxury, Drunkenneſs, and Debauchery.

The Conſequence is, That the ſame Cauſes will have the ſame Effects; the growth of our Manufactures will be ſtifled at home, and their Forreign Vent will remain obſtructed: The *French* and other Forreigners will ſupply the Forreign Market with their Manufactures as they did before; if our Prohibition hath any effect, it will cauſe the *French* to ſell cheaper than they did, which will help them to beat us out more than ever. Which of our Manufactures can receive any greater Forreign Vent?

I expect 'twill be ſaid our Woollen Manufacture, (for we have *Hobſon*'s choice, and ſhall wear it threadbare with often naming,) this at the beſt may be a queſtion; Nay, whether

ther our Vent for it will not be leſs: *France* will receive no more of it, the *Dutch* and *French* ſtill remain our proſperous Competitors in other Parts, all the other Forreign Woollen Manufactures are ſtill ſupported and increaſed, by which the Forreign Markets are already over-clogged with it, whereof the ſame Cauſes remain: And now will Forreigners (which have been exhauſted by the late Warr) be more hungry and vigilant in this and all other Trade than before: Beſides, when the Prohibition of *French* Goods ſhall make Forreigners ſee we are under a greater neceſſity for their Commodities, we muſt alſo expect they will take advantage of the Monopoly given them by the Act of Navigation, as the *French*, *Danes*, and others have done, and will inſiſt to have our ſweet Commodity called Money, and reject our Woollen Manufactures; this they can have of our Neighbours the *Dutch*, and *French*, and perhaps cheaper, and as good, if not better; we already buy much of our Linnen at *Hamburgh* with Money.

If our poor Clothiers cannot help us out, I know not what will, for I hear of no new improving Manufactures in *England*, but that of *Perriwiggs*; then for our Trade from Port to Port, we have as melancholick a Proſpect that way: The Prohibition will not better us to

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the value of a Scullars wages: The *Dutch* and other Forreigners for the reaſons before given will run away with it as before, ſo will they ſhut us out of the Fiſhing Trade.

In the mean time our Merchants being confined in their Exportations from home, and diſabled from the Trade from Port to Port, as much as before, they muſt reſort to their preſent Commodities of Bullion, and Money, for ordinary Exportation; and muſt Import Conſumptive Forreign Commodities to be ſpent at home as before, or elſe lye ſtill.

Our late particular Overballance in the *French* Trade ſwelled ſo high, becauſe the *French* Shop had ſo great variety of valuable Commodities, and ſomewhat cheaper, and was nigh hand; which was an eaſe and advantage to our Importers.

Now ſuppoſe they are forbid to go to this particular Shop, and will Religiouſly obſerve the Prohibition; yet they may and will furniſh us with the ſame things from other Ports; they will bring us more Silks, Laces, and Baubles from *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, &c. More Linnens and Paper from *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, and *Genoa*, &c. And more Wines from *Italy*, *Portugal*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Turky*; from *Germany* more Brandies: There is hardly any of the *French* Commodities, but what may be had elſe-where; but with this odds, that they will

will coſt dearer in any other Nations than in *France*, which by ſo much muſt increaſe our National charge in Importations; nay, we muſt expect that in this alteration of the courſe of our Trade, our *Importers* will find out new trifles and gewgaws for our ſilly people: How ſuddenly do we find all the Women and Children of any account in *England*, in *Amber* Neck-laces? Which at the rate they are ſold at, muſt coſt *England* at leaſt 100000 *l.* And now we have a new Sawce called *Catch-up*, from *Eaſt-India*, ſold at a Guiney a Bottle.

But ſhould it be admitted, That our new Prohibitions would any thing correct our ballance of Trade; yet,

First, The Prohibition is to indure but a year and a little more.

Secondly, A general Prohibition of Goods, being looked on as a moſt injurious thing in all Nations, and a kind of Denuntiation of War, we muſt not think to perpetuate ours, unleſs we reſolve to be always under a State of Enmity and War, with the *French*. Then, if this be thought highly inconvenient, what mighty Effects of our new Prohibition can we hope for in ſuch a time?

Thirdly, Should this Prohibition ſomewhat correct the ballance of our Trade, yet if it does not prefectly reſtore the ballance, we ſhall

ſhall be Annual loſers by our Forreign Trade, and compleat the beggary of the Nation.

But fourthly, Should we ſuppoſe that it would reſtore the ballance; nay, that it ſhould render the National Trade of *England* ſomewhat beneficial, yet it muſt be confeſſed, That a compleat Regulation of our Trade would render it prodigiouſly more beneficial, (perhaps more than all the Trade of *Europe* beſides) conſidering how our advantages in Trade would reduce the Trade of our Neighbour Nations, as ours does improve.

Laſtly, The meer reſtoring of the ballance of our Trade, nay, or a Trade which ſhall be but a little beneficial, muſt be very inſecure to *England*, in the preſent poſture of things, when ſome of our Neighbour Nations do already ſo much ſurmount us in Treaſures and ſtrengths acquired by Trade; and by the future courſe of their Trade muſt grow ſo much richer, and ſtronger daily. From the whole I conclude, That our new Prohibition is not a ſufficient or ſatisfactory Regulation of our Trade, but leaves us open to many fatal and threatning Conſequences.

The Reaſons of the decay of our *Engliſh* Trade being underſtood, the Diſeaſe may be the more eaſily cured, and the Nation thereby ſecured, of this we need not to deſpair, provided the Medicines be *ſpeedily* applied; which

I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate; That after ſo many *ſoure Herbs*, I may leave a more Agreeable reliſh with the Reader, and ſo conclude; in order to this, I ſhall firſt remember ſome of our Advantages in Trade.

We have a particular high advantage over *France* in the *Nature of our Government*; under which Liberty and Property are by Law, and publick Conſtitutions ſecured, which muſt be a vaſt Incouragement to Trade and Traders, as is noted before.

Whereas the *French* Traders are daily liable to Taxes and Seiſures at pleaſure, which is as great a diſcouragement.

'Tis true, that the late Councils of *France* having been ſucceſſively ſtudious how to improve the *French* Trade, have exerted this Power very Judiciouſly towards Traders, yet are the Taxes high, and Arbitrary, and the Sufferings of the greateſt part muſt make the reſt uneaſie.

And whatſoever freedoms of Liberty and Property the *Dutch* allow, the *Engliſh* have the advantage in the *ſweetneſs and healthineſs* of their Countrey, and in the extent of it, the *Dutch* Territory being very narrow, naturally loathſom, and moſt unhealthy, *nor are the* Engliſh *liable to ſuddain Inroads and Depredations*, as the *Dutch* are on the Continent; which odds will invite Forreigners to plant in *England*,

England, rather than in the *United Provinces*.

But what is yet more, the *English Ports* are numerous, deep, safe, and open all the year; the *Dutch* Ports but few, dangerous in the Approach, unsafe within, and usually frozen three or four Months in the year, the *French* Ports much fewer, and but five or six that will carry Ships of any great Burthen, and those very far asunder.

England hath, or may have, all the most considerable and desireable *materials of Manufacture* of its own growth, except Silk: which is of a Prodigious Advantage, because the charge of Importing is saved, and its Manufacturers may rest *undisturbed by a War at Sea*: whereas the *Dutch* have none, and the *French* fewer than we, particularly they want the excellent Material of Wool, by which Millions of People at home may be most profitably Imployed.

England is the most *fertile of Nations*, and out of its own Stores, as it might be cultivated, might maintain almost infinite *Numbers of People*. The *United Provinces* so scanty of Provision, that they are forced to buy most or all their Meat and Drink of Forreigners, except Fish; (by which as many might be supported in *England*) *France* (though fruitful) doth not yield near so much Cattle and Flesh-meat; which is most strengthning and grate-

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ful to all, especially Laborious men, and is ne-
ces. cessary for Victualling of Ships.
are Both in *France* and *Holland* are *great Ex-*
ear *cises* on most, or all, *ordinary* Meats and Drinks,
the In *England* on part of our *Drink* only, *viz.*
ozen That in Alehouses, and Publick Brewings, (I
nch hope there never will be any such as shall bur-
will then Trade.)
hose Our great *Wasts*, *and void Lands*, which
nost are our present Grief and Scandal, may on the
anu- Regulation of our Trade, prove highly bene-
nich ficial to us, since they will afford present room
the for a vast Increase of People, whether Forreign
ufa- Planters, or others; in the *United Provinces*,
ea or *France*, none such are to be found.
nch And lastly, *England* is far better *situated for*
ex- *the Fishing Trade*, and other Forreign Trade
ons than either *France*, or the *United Provinces*,
Im- and its People are naturally far more *Adven-*
turous and *Valiant* than theirs, as Experience
and hath shewn, which makes no small odds upon
va- National Contests, between Nations emulous
bers in Trade, when they fight upon equal Terms
of of Treasure, and Warlike Preparations: and
or there is no question but our *National Industry*
ex- in Trade, would be also more Vigorous and
up- Successful, were it put into suitable Methods;
ul) but otherwise can no more Exert it self than a
sh- generous Courser in a Horse-Mill.
te-
ful

From all which it muſt be evident, that were our Trade eaſed as in Neighbour Nations, *England* would have the Superiority, ſince the ſame Cauſes muſt produce greater Effects in *England*, being invigorated with theſe our National Advantages, which no other Nation doth or can enjoy.

The *preſent Power* of the *French* King would infallibly much *Contribute* to it, which being arrived to ſuch a ſwelling and tremendous height, does not only intimidate all men of Trade and Wealth in *France*, eſpecially Proteſtants; but all the adjacent Provinces and People on the Continent, who either already groan under the inſupportable Oppreſſions and Inſolencies of the *French*, or are under deep and Continual Apprehenſions of being waſted by his numerous Troops, grown Proud and Wanton with Succeſs, and ready to make irreſiſtable deſcents upon any *private Order*; in which theſe his Neighbours can never think themſelves ſecure, becauſe of his late ſuddain Invaſion of *Flanders*: and would therefore flye to our *Engliſh* World, as a bleſſed and ſafe *Aſylum*, *were it put into a poſture of being ſo*. Then if the ſuddain Populacy, Treaſures, Trade, and ſtrength of the ſmall *Dutch Provinces*, were the Effects of the then *Spaniſh* Tyranny in the Low-Countreys, what might we not hope for from far greater Confluences of the richeſt and

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moſt Mercantile and Induſtrious Proteſtants, or ſuch as would be ſo, even from *Holland* and *France*, as well as from many other parts of *Europe*? whoſe Stocks being tranſported by Bills of Exchange, and their Manufactures with their Perſons, and this on a ſuddain, would give the odds of Srength and Treaſure to the *Engliſh*, who no longer need to truſt to the fallible Security of *Leagues*, which are ſo often obſtructed and broken by the humour or perfidie of particular men, or fruſtrated by incapacity and accidents: And therefore this patching and piecing a Strength together by *Leagues*, is the dependance of ſmall and weak Eſtates, ſuch as thoſe of *Italy* and *Germany*; where they are always tricking and betraying one another; yet at this time Leagues (though not to be wholly reſted upon) *may be* of great, and good conſequence to *England*.

Had the *French* Monarchy never over-awed the reſt of *Europe*, as it now does, it muſt be evident, that if our Trade had been regulated and eaſed equally with the *Dutch*, all thoſe Merchants and People which have ſetled in *Holland*, would have planted here, where beſides the former advantages, the extent of our Territory, renders the Burthen of Taxes far eaſier on particular men than in *Holland*, where they are alſo at a much greater *neceſſary* charge for Garriſons on their Frontiers; nay the very

Dutch would have forsaken those Provinces for *England*, or if any had remained, they would have been Carriers for the *English*, as they have been to the *French*, and will rather be so for the future, if our Shop were sufficiently furnished, because they will more willingly transfer the wealth of the World to a Countrey where they themselves may securely share in it, when they please, than to an *Arbitrary Power*, which may in a moment swallow it up, and oppress those that brought it to any the most barbarous degree; from all which, these things are most manifest: First, That nothing does or can so formidably threaten the Trade, and by Consequence the Monarchy of *France*, as the Modern Freedoms of the *English*, and some other Neighbouring Countreys. Secondly, That the *English* Freedoms are at this day so great an advantage to his most Sacred Majesty of *England*, that they are a Weapon left in his hands, with which, and a Concurrent Regulation of our Trade, he may with ease and assurance attain a Superiority over all the Monarchs and Powers of *Europe* put together; he will cut the Grass under their Feet, and *draw* away their Treasures and People, notwithstanding all the Policies can be used; no *mere Prohibition* can stop those whose Interests, quiet, and safety, shall oblige them to depart: In which, besides a *sufficient* Guard at Sea, (to use

use the words of the *French* Politicks) *there would need almost no War to be made, nor His Majestie's Forces hazarded.* Thirdly, That for these Reasons it is most evident, that it doth highly import the *French* Monarchy, that the Freedoms of the *English*, and all others in these parts should be subverted and evacuated, of which, whether the *French* Councils, who have been so long and so curiously projecting the Grandure of that Monarchy, are insensible, I leave to be considered. Fourthly, 'Tis also as evident, that upon such a Regulation of our Trade His Majestie's Revenue being (by some *Excise* added to the *then* smaller Customs, and other his present Funds) made *but equal* to what now it is, would infallibly swell higher and higher yearly, as *Trade, People, and Treasures* shall increase; if *these* shall become *double, treble*, or *six fold* what they now are, so would his *Revenue:* then what extraordinary Supplies in Parliament might he not expect, upon a National Emergence; nay, or for his own proper occasions, when by an increase of People, the Burthen upon *particular men* will be answerably eased, and by the increase of Treasure, and the advance of private Revenues and Stocks, these People should be enabled to give *largely*, and *often*; and this without any prejudice to their home-Trade, or Land-Rents, and therefore with such an Alacrity, as is agree-

able to that true Honour and Affection they really bear him.

I need not obſerve how much it will be in His Majeſtie's Power to ſecure the making up of his preſent Revenue by new Funds, ſhould he graciouſly think fit to compute by a Moderation of the Cuſtoms; but ſince I have now, and before mentioned *Exciſes*, and have obſerved ſome men of Parts, almoſt to *ſtartle* at the *naming* of a new *Exciſe*, I ſhall thus far explain and vindicate my ſelf, and the propoſal: Firſt, I ſhall agree that ſuch *Exciſes* as affect and over-burthen the *beneficial parts* of Trade, are of pernicious Conſequence. Secondly, that an Univerſality of *Exciſe* is both inconvenient and unneceſſary; But that there may be *Exciſes* Impoſed on many Superfluities, and Exceſſes, in Meats, Drinks, or Equipages, or upon ſome imported Goods *Conſumed at home*, which would be no prejudice to any kind of Trade; being no clog upon our Exports, or Re-exports; or perhaps, a very ſmall *Exciſe* on ordinary Meats, Drinks, and Apparel, might be ſupportable: I do not propound all, but ſome of theſe, in this Courſe there will be this odds of advantage on the part of the King, That the *Uſers, Wearers, and Conſumers*, being this way made chargeable, His Majeſty would be leſs liable to be defrauded than in the Cuſtoms, which are perpetually ſmuggled, and then

then the Imported Goods openly Vended, and used; This, on the part of the People, That it will bring the like Obligations of charge on men of *Visible and Invisible Stocks*, in, or out of Trade, as on the Land-holders; and therefore I do not see any shadow of reason why *Excises* should appear such Bugbears in *England*, especially to Land-holders, any more than in *Holland*, and in other Trading Nations, where the Publick Revenues are made to swell high by these small and almost insensible Payments. It is Confessed, that it will be highly fit to provide for a fair and easie Collection, and against the Extortions, Insolencies, and Abuses of Officers; for which we need to go no farther than to learn by what Methods they are collected and ascertained in *Holland*, if any shall misbehave themselves, we have a free recourse to the Law, as in *Holland* they have, but in *France* they have not, though perhaps now more than ever. Nor are *Excises*, or somewhat in the Nature of them, so new amongst us, if we regard the Antient *Tolls* for things bought and sold in home-Markets; which, although they now seem small, were before the Discovery and Diffusion of the *Indian* Treasure Considerable, and originally belonging to the Crown, but since appropriated to private hands by Grants, or long usages founded on Grants

See Sir *W. Temple* of the *Dutch*, Pag.

from the Crown, which having also given *Exemptions* to some Towns, we may presume them first intended for the ease of Manufacturers, of which the Government had an especial regard: having said this, if the Reader will reflect on All that I have said, he cannot think I have any design in beggaring the *English* Subjects by an invention of new Taxes; 'twas Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Opinion, that the smaller and more numerous Payments of Custom, would rise far higher than before, which he Confirms with Fact; be they more or less, the National Wisdom is at Liberty to exert it self in further Levies, by Excise, Land-Tax, Poll, or otherwise as there shall be cause.

Having now written what I intended on the present Subject, the Nature of it may sufficiently assure the Reader, that I have not designed any peculiar Ends of my own: On the contrary it hath been a trouble, which I wish an abler hand had undertaken, and being for the Publick, may expect what usually ensues, when men engage upon the cutting of Common Rivers, wherein they must have Contests with every one, who hath a *Lands End* abutting upon the Work, who will set a greater value upon six foot of Earth, than upon all the Good the Countrey, and therein themselves, and all their Posterity, might reap by the Accomplishment of the Business; in which

which they are generally ſo tenacious, that they ordinarily ruin the *Undertaker*, and thereby make great ſtore of mirth for the *Cunning men* of the adjacent Villages. I am not inſenſible how many mens Animoſities I have hazarded, by incountring their private Intereſts, or contrary Inclinations; a thing no way grateful to me, being not one of thoſe (if any there be) that, out of any petulancy of humour, Love Contention, or Innovations, or that would appear conſiderable by oppoſing ſomething that is already thought ſo; or that delight in ſtirring Sediments, or raking into ſeditions; I affect quiet as much as any man, and account it my ordinary duty to give the leaſt offence I can, even to the little ones. Nothing but a Conſideration of our preſent Difficulties, and a hope to be Inſtrumental to the publick felicity could have moved me an Inch beyond theſe common Prudentials; to which I have yet conformed as far as I can; I have touched no man's Perſon, and I preſume I need not ſay I have forborn Reflections, in which I do not think any one obliged to me, being but what I have judged requiſite for a Compoſure of things; it hath been abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould repreſent our ill *Conſtitutions in Trade*, and ſome of the *moſt important Conſequences*, that from a general apprehenſion of the Common Intereſt, there may enſue a National Union

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in thoſe Methods which may be moſt for the Publick Advantage, and this upon the *mighty Baſis* of our preſent form of Government, and under our preſent moſt gracious Prince, whoſe Glories I hope to ſee expanded by an exuberant increaſe of National Treaſures, People, and Royal Revenues, and to ſuch a degree, as that the days of our Queen *Elizabeth* ſhall appear but a faint Type, or dawning of the greater Luſtre and Happineſs of His now Majeſtie's Reign: This is what I wiſh for, and have to my utmoſt endeavoured, and therein the real Advantage of all Ranks of Men in the Nation; If then theſe Excellent Ends appear obſtructed by a ſort of antient or Innovated Laws or Uſages, who can ſpeak of them, without much Reſentment? In which, I hope, I am Excuſable. Theſe are the *Spells* by which our innocent People are inevitably lead into Courſes deſtructive to the Publick.

How can our Merchants or Shop-keepers now avoid Trading in Forreign Conſumptive Goods? Have they any ſufficient Stores of Home-Manufactures? Can our Merchants Trade from Port to Port as the *Dutch* and others do? or muſt Men that are bred up to theſe Gentile profeſſions, that are Men of *Family*, *Induſtry*, and *Fortune* fling up, live lazily, or poorly? Who doth not know how many generous and intelligent Men, are to be found

found amongſt our *Merchants* and *Shop-keepers* of all ſorts? Such as bear a true affection to their Country, and are an honour to the Nation, and ſuch as wiſh for a Regulation of our Trade, and would be ready and capable to give all farther aſſiſtances, were they called to it? This I wiſh to ſee, being not ſo conceited, as to think I have ſaid all that is material on this Subject; but on the contrary apprehend, That there are very few Paragraphs of what I have written, but may admit of farther Informations: In the mean time, from what hath been already ſaid, it muſt be apparent to theſe and others, That as an open and free Trade would be far more profitable to the generality of *Merchants*, ſo would it be far more honourable to all; That the Conſequential Increaſe of People and Wealth, would better ſupport our great Increaſe of *Shop-keepers*, *Lawyers*, *Solicitors*, *Pen-men*, &c. (of which the preſent Numbers would then hardly be ſufficient) That the benefits of our *Clergy* muſt receive an inevitable Improvment by it. And that our great and famous City of *London* (which is the Seat Royal, where our National Courts of Juſtice are, which is contiguous to our moſt ſecure Harbour for Ships, which hath the ſweeteſt and moſt Commodious ſituation of any City in *Europe*, and is ſo vaſtly peopled already) muſt by theſe advantages,

tages, for ever, have the greateſt reſort and Trade of the Nation, (even under the utmoſt Improvments of our Trade) which muſt then be incomparably more than now: Beſides, the vaſt advantage our *Gentry* would infallibly reap by the continual Riſing of their Rents, even ſuch of theſe as deſire more buſineſs, or gain, will then have other and farther daily opportunities, by putting Stocks into Manufactures, or Forreign Trade, and projecting and ſolliciting the Improvement of either, or both. In *Florence*, the very *Nobility* and great *Duke* himſelf are *Traders*; hence might our Members of Parliament be continually prepared to make the moſt ſuitable Laws for the facilitating of Trade.

Laſtly, Nothing can ſo effectually and certainly ſecure the peace of the Nation, as the Regulating of our Trade, ſince it will ſet all Mens heads and hands at work in all manner of Innocent and Profitable Imployments, and introduce a general ſatisfaction and Harmony.

Then, and never 'till then, ſhall we make up that invincible *Phalanax*, which muſt not only be terrible to all Forreign Nations, but to all Enemies of the Government at Home, when they find it ſupported by the ſolid Pillars of Trade and Treaſure, and a Conſequential ſwelling Populacy and Navigation; which will

will deter Men of ſence from Treaſonable Machinations, and of Fools there needs no fear: Whereas the defect of theſe Supports muſt continually adminiſter temptation to all ſuch as by reaſon of their particular circumſtances, can hope for any greater advantage or ſecurity, by the general ruin. The Body Politick being in this like the Natural, more ſubject to new Diſtempers when it is infirm before, but when ſtanch in every part eaſily bears off the Corruption or Acidity of any malevolent humours,

The *Trade of the World* hath long *courted England*, but never with *ſo much importunity*, or with ſo much *advantage* as now: This *great Lady* affecting Freedom and Security, hath no Inclination to continue under the *Arbitrary Power* of the *French*, nor the *Uncertain fate* of the *Dutch*; with *theſe* ſhe hath reſided only as a *Sojourner*, but is ready to *eſpouſe* our Intereſt and Nation, and with her ſelf to beſtow upon us the Treaſures of the World; but if we ſtill continue inexorable and ſtubborn, things are grown to ſuch a Criſis, That we may have reaſon to fear this is the laſt time of her asking, and that ſhe may ſuddenly turn this Kindneſs into ſuch a Fury as we ſhall not be able to withſtand.

Shall we then embrace ſo advantagious Overtures, or, ſhall we ſtill proceed in our preſent

preſent Methods? I have heard it was a hard matter to reclaim the *Iriſh* from drawing with their *Horſes Tails*; ſhall the *Iriſh* now beat us out of our Trade? Shall we continue rolling in Forreign Silks and Linnens? or be ſtill ſotting in Forreign Wines, whileſt they pick our pockets? Shall we be Curious in Trifles, ſneaking after our private intereſts? or like the blind *Sodomites* groping after our filthy Pleaſures, whileſt the Wrathful Angels of God ſtand at our elbows? Shall we like the Reprobated *Jews* be under continual Demications within, whileſt our Enemies are at the Gates? Shall thoſe of the *High City*, thoſe of the *Low City*, and thoſe in the *Temple* be picking out one anothers Eyes to facilitate the Aggreſſions of more powerful Forreigners? or ſhall we be hunting or graſping after falſe Shadows, and Imaginary Forms and Ideas, and neglect that moſt valuable ſubſtance which we have already in our Mouths, and which would turn into the moſt ſolid Nutriment, would we take the pains to chew it?

See *Joſephus* of the Siege and Deſtruction of *Hieruſalem.*

Which leads me to ſay, There is yet a farther Requiſite to our happy procedure in the Whole, of greater importance than any other; *viz.* a general Humiliation of our ſelves towards *God*, accompanied with an abhorrence of our paſt Intemperances, Corrupt Paſſions, Pride,

Pride, Avarice, Luſts, Prophaneneſs, mutual Oppreſſions, Perfidies, and other Impieties, with ſuch a Chriſtian Meekneſs, Charity, Purity, Truth, Holy Zeal and Reſolution as may render us Capable of his Mercy and Protection; perhaps one *falſe ſtep* at this time, may be more Irreparable than ever; 'tis certain we ſhall never be able to make a *true one* whileſt we are under the diſpleaſure of the Almighty.

It is as undeniable, that the Laws which obſtruct our Trade, cannot be *Repealed*, or *new ones* requiſite for its *Improvement* or *Security* be *made*, otherwiſe than by *a Parliament*: Whether therefore, upon this and other important Conſiderations, the *Convening* and *Holding* of a Parliament be not, under *God*, (*who does not work by Miracle*) a neceſſary means to prevent the Ruine of this Nation, and how Long it may *now* with *any* ſecurity be deferred, is that, which I moſt humbly ſubmit to the Determination of Authority.

FINIS.

The CONTENTS.

THe Introduction. Pag. 1

SECTION I.

Trade National or Private, Home or Forreign Treasures Imported by Trade, thence Land-Rents, Popularly increased, the Revenues of all Ranks of Men depend upon Trade, People and Treasure make National Strength; particular Advantages in Treasure, the difference between Ancient and Modern Wars, Navigation supported by Trade, this necessary for the Security of an Island, and therein the further Scope of the Whole. p. 10

SECT. II.

The several kinds of Forreign Trade, of Trading with Home or Forreign Navigation, some general Application. p. 19

SECT. III.

Of Forreign Trade consisting in Exportation, of the Advantages of home-Manufactures, incidently other home-Trades and Imployments are considered; and which of them enrich a Nation; of the Fishing Trade, and the Annual Exporting of Corn. p. 23

SECT. IV.

Of Forreign Trade from Port to Port; the Nature and Advantage of it; differs from meer Carriage, and meer Importation; the neceſſity of a Home Store-houſe: The ordinary Exporting of Money or Bullion, of dangerous Conſequence; how to be avoided: The Fiſhing Trade, and Trade from Port to Port, are the Nurſery and Support of Sea-men, and Sea-Towns; The Condition of ours; The Natural Advantages of England *for all ſorts of Trade, yet hath the leaſt ſhare.* p. 34

SECT. V.

That our Home and Forreign Market is Incumbred and prejudiced by Extraordinary and Unequal Charges and Cloggs in our Merchandize above what are in our Neighbour-Nations, Viz. *In the Building and Furniture of our Ships, Victuals, Sea-Mens Wages, Cuſtoms, Intereſt-Money,* &c. *and Forreign Trade; more particularly of the decay of our Woollen Manufacture: Our Exportations now confined to our Importations and Imported Treaſure, how to be enlarged; our caſual dependence on the Trade of* Spain. p. 47

SECT. VI.

Other Cloggs on our Trade, Viz. *The late* Acts *of Navigation, which, with the other difficulties, have begot Monopolies; made our Navigation yet dearer; ſo Forreign Materials of Manufacture cauſe meer Importations, hinder our Forreign Vent of Victuals, obliges a ſudden Conſumption of our remaining*

uemaining Ship-Timber; Particular Dangers and Conſequences thereof: Our Navigation cannot be increaſed whilſt we are reſtrained in Trade. The exhauſting of our Treaſure muſt ſubvert our Navigation: The Advantages of Forreigners, of Trading by Companies, and the different Nature of ours, more particularly of our African *and* Eaſt-India *Companies and Trade: Divers ill Conſequences of Joynt-Stocks; therein more of Monopolies. Long Land-Carriages to* London; *the Market there delayed. Odds in Intereſt-Money muſt prejudice our Manufactures: Private Intereſt obſerved. Our affectation of Forreign Commodities: The Prejudice of obſtructing the Vent of Manufactures. Our Manufactures liable to be ingroſſed upon by our Merchants, and by Ingroſſers; a diſadvantage by the Reſtitution of half-Cuſtoms on the Re-exportation.* Pag. 64

SECT. VII.

Forreigners eaſed in Trade; Other Clogs of Difficulties upon ours; Want of Populacy, incidently of extream prices of Victuals; and how the duration of Land-Rents may be ſecured; Our People reſtrained from Manufactures; the Abuſe of the Act *of* 43 Eliz. 2. Act *of* 5 Eliz. cap. 4. *meer Prohibitions of no value. Freedoms and pre-emptions of Corporations, with the Conſequences. Free-Schools and Scholar-like Employments: Forreign Proteſtants hindered from tranſporting hither; Want of Toleration of Proteſtant Diſſenters; the*

Objections briefly considered: Elections in Corporations. Monopolies of New Manufactures: Delay and Charge in some Law-Suits. Tythes of Hemp, Flax, and Fish; more of Customs, and incidently of Taxes. p. 152

SECT. VIII.

That a Nation may grow Poor by Forreign Trade, viz. *By an Excess of meer Importations, illustrated by some Observations, this facilitated by Exporting Money or Bullion, the fatal Consequences and Symptoms of a Consumptive Trade, decay of Manufactures, other ways of living overstocked, fall of Rents, general Poverty, an increase of Criminals of all sorts, Depopulation; some Application to the present Case of* England, *and amongst others the occasion of the new Buildings about* London, *of Incontinency, Cunning,* &c. p. 121

SECT. IX.

That a Consumptive Trade must render a Nation still weaker and weaker: How far the meer Establishment of Absolute Power, or meer Liberty and Property, may alter the Case. p. 137

SECT. X.

Further Presumptions of our late National overballance in Trade; an Account from the Mint in November 75. *and thence our former Ballance of Trade estimated.* p. 144

SECT. XI.

Particular decays in our Exportations, and the beneficial parts of our Trade; Instances in the decay

decay of our Forreign Trade for Woollen Clothing, in the ſeveral Counties and Ports we Traded to, in the ſinking of the Forreign Price of this Manufacture, ſo of Exporting Wool, in our Forreign Victualling Trades for Fleſh, Butter, Cheeſe, *&c. in our* Iriſh *Trade, and* Scotch *Trade for almoſt all ſorts of Commodities:* Iriſh *Wool increaſed: The Expiration of the* Iriſh Acts *will not now reveſt that Trade, but prejudice us more, and in what; decays in our ſeveral former and late Fiſhing Trade, in our Forreign Trade for Stockings and Hats, in our Exports to the* Canaries, *in the Forreign Price of our Exported Tynn and Lead, and the Price and Quantity of Exported Pewter, in our Trade from Port to Port, our former and late prejudices in our Plantation-Trade, incidently of our Navigation, and other things.* p. 155

SECT. XII.

Inſtances in late Increaſes and Exceſſes of our Forreign Importations, and therein of the Decay of ſome other of our own Manufactures which ſupplyed our Home-Uſes, viz. *in Linnens of all ſorts, more dear fine Linnens uſed; incidently of the late and preſent Huſwifery of* Engliſh *Women: In Ticking, in Imported Woollen Manufactures from* Holland, France, *and* Ireland; *In Cordage, Cables, Sayls and Sea-Nets; in Iron, in Brandy, in Wines of all ſorts, theſe riſen in price; the particular odds in our former and preſent Canary-Trade; in Coffee, in Earthen Ware, Pitch, Tarre, Hemp, Flax,*

Flax, and Forreign Timber bought dearer, and f.
more Timber Imported: In Imported Silks of a
ſorts; in Laces, and many other things, and ther
upon our late French *Overballance Conſidered.* 1
which are Added our late loſſes by the French C.
pers, and Money Exported to France *by our Tr.*
vellers, &c. The National Overballance inferr.
this cleared by a Deduction of our Trade, wit
Relation to the Dutch *and* French, *and there.*
of their gradual Increaſe, and our Decay in Trad.
Whence the Growth of the French *and* Dutch R.
venues and Strengths obſerved; a farther Calcu.
lation of our late and preſent Overballance; inc.
dently of ſome farther Advantages in Trade For
reigners have upon us. p. 17

SECT. XIII.

That a Conſiderable part of our late Treaſur
is exhauſted: Application to our Publick an
Private Revenues: Objections Anſwered, viz.
The Plenty of Money to be let on Securities; Store
of Money in London; *Stocks in Merchand.*
The Over-weightineſs of our Coin, &c. p. 22

SECT. XIV.

People and Treaſure the true Pillars of th.
National ſtrength: The Odds in the different Qu.
and imployment of people. The abſoluteneſs of
the French *Monarchy no cauſe of the preſen.*
French *Grandure: The late Application of th.*
French *Councils to the Increaſe of Trade, People*
and Treaſure; and the occaſion thereof. The
great.

reater excellency of the Form of our English Government. The farther necessity of Improving ur Trade from the Modern Treasures and Powers the French; of their Naval force, the Algiers yracy; how the French design to engross all Maritime Commerce; our dangers from France; of he present condition of the Dutch: That our te Prohibition of French Goods will not disable hat Monarchy, nor better our Trade; meer Prohibitions of no value: Our great advantages in rade above France and Holland: That a speedy Regulation of our Trade &c. would secure us ainst all Forreign Powers, and Dangers at home: f Excises, and other Taxes. The certain Increase of his Majesties Revenue; hence, what occasion for a Parliament, &c. p. 239

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Pag. 3. *line* 17. *for* hires *read* hives. *p.* 5. *l.* 7. *r.* notions. *ibid. l.* 11. *f.* of Improvments, *r.* and. *p.* 10. *l.* 3. *r.* populacy. *p.* 20. *l.* 7. *r.* commodities. *p.* 23. *l.* 18. *r.* principles. *p.* 25. *l.* 26. *r.* commodity. *p.* 41. *l.* 5. with *r.* which. *p.* 27. *l.* 7. *r* manufactures *p.* 31. *l.* 25. *f.* 25000. *r.* 2500. *p.* 42. *l.* 8. *r.* re-export. *p.* 44. *l.* 2. after 90 add or 100. *p.* 52. after add some. *p.* 53. *f.* wars, *r.* wares. *p.* 57. *l.* 4. *after* high *add* our. *l.* 5. *after* have, *add* near. *p.* 59. *l.* 2. *af.* make *add* a. *p.* 59. *l.* 13. *f.* Sails *r.* Sailo *p.* 71. *l.* 8 *af.* since

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reigners have upon us. p. 17

SECT. XIII.

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Private Revenues: Objections Anſwered, vi
The Plenty of Money to be let on Securities; Store
of Money in London; *Stocks in Merchandize*
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since

since *add* of. *l.* 9. *bef.* are *ad* they. *p.* 50. *l.* 2. *such as leave out* as.

Note, The next page is falsely numbered, *viz.* 129, and so forward till page 160: In which are these Errata's *viz.*

p. 131. *l.* 19. *r.* erection. *p.* 136. *l.* 14. *f.* custom *r.* confirmation. *p.* 138. *l.* 11. *f.* these *r.* the. *p.* 140. *l.* 5. In their, *leave out* it. *p.* 141. *l.* 26. *f.* exempted *r.* exerted. *p.* 144. *l.* 16. *r.* notoriety, the same *p.* 148. *f.* highly *r.* hightly. *p.* 149. *l.* 4. *f.* rest. *r.* went. *p.* 150. *l.* 4. *r.* manufacturers. the same *p.* 151. *l.* 19. *f.* prize *r.* price. *p.* 151. *l.* 25. *f.* being *r.* bring. the same *p.* 154. *r.* in consideration. *p.* 152. *f.* of difficulties *r.* and. *p.* 153. *l.* 11. *f.* never, *add* can. *p.* 154. he was, *he to be omitted*. in the same line. *f.* 250000. *r.* 150000. *p.* 156. *l.* 18. *r.* manufactures. *Note*, In Sect. 7. at *p.* 160. there follows *p.* 97. and so forwards, wherein are these Errata's. *p.* 97. *l.* 25. *f.* that *r.* most. *p.* 101. *l.* 6. *f.* and Virgil *r.* or. *p.* 107. *l.* 9. *r.* propose. *p.* 109. *omit* an. *l.* *p.* 113. *l.* 8. *r.* difference. *p.* 115. *f.* a. *r.* the. *p.* 116. *l.* 8. *r.* manufactures. same *p.* *l.* 13. *f.* this *r.* there. same *p.* *l.* 16. *f.* and *r.* are. *p.* 125. *l.* 1. *leave out* partly. *p.* 126. *r.* those. *p.* 130. *l.* 22. *f.* four. *r.* an. *p.* 132. *l.* 19. *f.* 2000 *l.* *r.* 20000. *p.* 154. *l.* 13. *r.* altercation. same *p.* *l.* 24. *r.* 25. *r.* affected. *p.* 155. *l.* 15. *r.* exported. *p.* 164. *l.* 23. *f.* art. *r.* act. *p.* 186. *l.* 1. *f.* here *r.* have. *p.* 183. *l.* 20. *f.* God. *r.* Gold. *p.* 202. *l.* 2. *to* three *add* near. *p.* 211. *f.* moderately. *r.* immoderately. *p.* 218. an *addend.* in the Margent omitted, *viz.*

To these and all the rest, add what losses have accrew'd by inclosing our *African* Trade to a Company and Joynt-stock, and by the Act of 15 *Car.* 2. 7. Licensing the *East-India* Company, and all others, to Export Treasure and such other late losses, as being mentioned in the 4*th.* 5*th.* 6*th.* 7*th.* or 8*th.* Sections, have been omitted in this and the last Section.

p. 220. *l.* 20. *f.* drive. *r.* drove. *p.* 221. *l.* 14. *af.* more then *add* their the value. *p.* 223. *l.* 15 *for* yield. *r.* of. *p.* 225. and the. *leave out* and. *l.* 11. of more. *leave out* of. *p.* 230. *l.* 25. *r.* greater. *p.* 235. *f.* impossible. *r.* possible. *p.* 238. *f.* of fetters. *r.* and. *p.* 242. *l.* 26. *f.* their. *r.* the. *p.* 252. *l.* 28. *f.* 100. *r.* 600. *p.* 253. *l.* 28. *r.* King's. *p.* 256. *l.* 10. abundant of, *leave out* of. *l.* 24. *f.* parts. *r.* Ports. *p.* 263. *l.* 6. *af.* gain *add* by. *p.* 266. *l.* 21. *f.* strike. *r.* speak. *p.* 267. *l.* 9. *f.* repealed. *r.* repeated. *l.* 9. *af.* and *add* that. *l.* 33. an *addend.* in the Margent omitted. *viz.* The Genesis of Mr. Lowndes unwilling. *p.* 269. *l.* 30. *f.* our. *r.* their. *p.* 274. *l.* 1. *f.* am. *r.* could. *p.* 290. *l.* 4. *f.* seeding. *r.* new. *p.* 294. *l.* 22. *r.* benefices. *p.* 300. *f.* Phalanax. *r.* Phalanx. *p.* 301. *f.* malevolent. *r.* and malignant.